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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW

THIRD SERIES.—No. XLII.

APRIL, 1889.

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THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

APRIL, 1889.

ART. I.—HENRY VIII. AND THE SUPPRESSION OF THE GREATER MONASTERIES.

Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries. By FRANCIS
AIDAN GASQUET, O.S.B. Vol. II. Second edition.
London: John Hodges. 1889.

FATHER GASQUET'S second volume carries the history of this great sacrilege for ten years, from 1536 down to the death of Henry VIII. in 1547. The whole number of monasteries suppressed, both the lesser and the greater, was about 600—that is, of the lesser, 377; of the greater, 200. The number of monks, canons, friars, and nuns cast out upon the world in poverty and ruin was about 8000; and the spoils of this sacrilege in houses, lands, money, gold, silver, lead, and jewels is computed to be between fourteen and fifteen millions of our money.

The central figure round whom the history of the first volume gathers was Thomas Cromwell. Of his life and character we have already spoken; it is enough now to repeat that even Cranmer called him a "ruffian." The central figure of the second volume is Henry VIII., and before we enter upon his doings it will be well to estimate the man.

It is hard to reconcile his early years, when he was studying theology and hearing sometimes four masses a day, with his later life, dating from the pretended divorce of Catharine of Arragon. He is a notable example of the warning:

They that stand high have many gusts to shake them,
And if they fall, they break themselves to pieces.

So great a moral ruin is hardly to be found elsewhere in our history.

And yet no man has been so extolled and glorified by anti-

VOL. XXI.—NO. II. [Third Series.]

R

Catholic writers from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. What William III. is to Lord Macaulay, Henry VIII. is to Mr. Froude. The tradition of Protestant England represents him as a great Sovereign, of powerful mind, inflexible will, a wise ruler, a severe judge; driven by the hardness of the times, the disloyalty of statesmen, and the treason of Catholics into cruel but inevitable acts of rigorous justice. How far this tradition of his character is borne out by facts we will consider for a while before we enter upon the history of his deeds. And here a new and hitherto unsuspected light has been thrown by contemporary and close observers on the character of Henry VIII. Paul Friedmann has gathered with great diligence the estimate of the King as written by the Imperial and the French ambassadors to their respective Courts. The citations from their letters are carefully given at the foot of his pages. We will briefly sum up the result: "The State papers of Henry's reign show that he was exceedingly vain." In the correspondence of nearly every ambassador at his Court we read of some foolish boast about his riches, his power, and his wisdom. "He never forgets his own greatness," Castillon writes, "and is silent as to that of others." "The Emperor is stupid," Henry said; "he knows no Latin; the princes ought to have asked me and the King of France to arbitrate, we would have settled the matter very quickly." "Your master," said Francis to the English ambassadors, "thinks himself very wise, but is nothing more than a fool." He put himself on a par with Charles V. and Francis I., whose realms were four times as populous as England, with greater revenues, and captains and armies such as Henry could never dream of bringing into the field. And these boasts were embodied in his letters to his ambassadors. He said that the election of the Emperor was wholly owing to his influence, and that he, not Charles, had gained the battle of Pavia; and that no king of England ever held France so much in his power as he did. His career was one of ostentation and profuse waste of money. The Imperial ambassador excused him by saying that he was not so very wicked but entirely led by others, but "that even they could not wholly trust him because of his levity." The diplomatists all said that he was invariably under the influence of some *alter rex*. "He never dared to meet a man face to face." Each party in turn governed him by a new mistress, and each was, in succession, overthrown. His will was weak: governed by others in greater things, but obstinate in small. Finally, his chief fault was "utter want of truth;" his own handwriting is still extant to prove this. "It was his practice to throw upon somebody else the blame for a misdeed which could not be denied. We find him urging others to do that which he

had not moral courage to do himself." * "The faults and vices of Henry were so great that, if the unhappy position in which he grew up were not taken into account, he would seem a contemptible monster. He was immensely vain, foolish, weak, and thoroughly dishonest." †

Of this we shall hereafter see abundant evidence, especially in his instructions to his ambassadors abroad during his alarms at the rising in Lincolnshire and the Pilgrimage of Grace.

One of the last acts of the Parliament which had given to the King the property of all monasteries having an income less than £200 a year was to create a "Court of Augmentations" to receive and deal with all property coming into the King's hands. This body consisted of a chancellor, a treasurer, two legal officers, attorney and solicitor, ten auditors, seventeen receivers, a clerk of the court, an usher, and a messenger. Its officers were appointed on April 24, 1536. The existence of such a permanent body clearly foretold the work of robbery for which it was founded. They had power to form a commission of six visitors, with an auditor, receiver, and a clerk. In every county they were to be accompanied by three discreet persons nominated by the King. The visitors were instructed to enter the monasteries, to summon the inmates, to swear the officials to answer their interrogatories, to take the convent seal and muniments, to make an inventory of all plate, jewels, and other goods, and, finally, to declare the house to be dissolved. The Superior alone was to have a pension. The others were turned adrift. They might apply to the Archbishop of Canterbury or to the Lord Chancellor for *capacities*—that is, employments or faculties. This machinery of destruction was complete and expeditious. It began its work upon certain nunneries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and the work was thoroughly done. The house, lands, movable goods, stock, stores, vestments, sacred vessels, bells, and the lead upon the roofs were all transferred to the King's receiver. Some ten thousand persons—religious and secular, chiefly poor—were involved in this ruin. With the effects of this sacrilege before their eyes, and the foresight of its perpetration on every side, together with the widespread sense of wrong inflicted upon kinsmen and friends, and, lastly, a popular belief founded on rumours that, in the place of the sacred vessels of gold and silver, chalices of tin were to be distributed, the people of Lincolnshire were driven to insurrection. The renunciation of the authority of the Pope; the supremacy of the Crown; the appointment of bishops suspected of heresy; the issue of a commission to Cromwell as Vicar-General in Spirituals, with power to summon, examine, and dis-

* Friedmann's "Anne Boleyn," vol. i. pp. 9-16.

† *Ibid.* p. 8.

miss parish priests, at last drove them to an outbreak. It began at Louth. The monastery of Louth Park had been dissolved. The people demanded the punishment of Cromwell and of some of the bishops as heretics. Nicholas Melton, who was called "Captain Cobbler," was the leader of the rising. The country round about Caistor, Louth, Aneaster, and Horneastle rose. The gentry, with the sheriff, Mr. Dymoke, joined them. The registrar of the Bishop of Lincoln was mobbed and robbed, and his books were burnt; the chancellor of the diocese was murdered. Dymoke and the gentry drew up certain articles which the people unanimously accepted. They were as follows:—They complained (1) of the dissolution of the religious houses, and of the destitution of "the poorealty of the realm;" (2) of the restraints on property by the Statute of Uses; (3) of tenths and first-fruits seized by the King; (4) of subsidies; (5) of the conduct of Cromwell and Rich; (6) of the Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin, of the Bishops of Rochester, S. David's, and others, "who had subverted the faith of Christ." These articles were sent at once to the King at Windsor. The people of Lincoln rose; they sacked the bishop's palace. For a week they were unchecked. Beacons were blazing and alarm bells were ringing throughout the county. But the rising collapsed for want of an able leader. In a week Sir John Russell with the advanced guard was at Stamford, and the Duke of Suffolk was in his rear.

On Wednesday, October 17, ten days after the outbreak, the King's herald brought his answer to the articles. It runs briefly as follows:—(1) As to the choice of counsellors and bishops, it belongs to princes. "How presumptuous, then, are ye, the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm . . . to find fault with your prince." (2) As to the suppression of houses, "there are no houses suppressed where God was well served; but where most vice, mischief, and abomination of living was used; and that doth well appear by their own confessions, subscribed with their own hands in the time of our visitations." (3) As to their hospitality, for "the most part" the houses had only "four or five religious persons in them, and divers, but one which spent the substance of the goods of their house in nourishing vice and abominable living." (4) As for the Act of Uses, the people could not comprehend them. (5) As to first-fruits, they ought to be glad to give them for the maintenance of the commonwealth. And he ends by charging them "eftsoons to withdraw, every man to his own house, but to deliver into the Lieutenant's hands the provokers of the mischief on pain of condign punishment, as we and our nobles shall think you worthy."

It is clear that they had risen for the defence of the Faith and of the Church, goaded to desperation by the King and his creatures. The gentry went to meet the Duke of Suffolk at Stamford, and, after conference, sixty thousand men disbanded without a blow.

And here the vanity and falsehood of the King are signally manifested. He was afraid that the foreign Powers should discover his embarrassment and peril at the rising in Lincolnshire. He therefore instructed his ambassadors at the Court of France to say that "the blowing about of false tales" had stirred up his subjects, "with a number of boys and beggars," in the county of Lincoln. And lest it should be taken for a greater thing, and spoken of to his dishonour, he says that Suffolk was there with a great force, "to give the traitors the reward of their traitorous attempt very shortly;" and that "in six days he had levied an army of 80,000 tried men," which his ambassadors were to declare to the King of France." No such army was in existence. The people laid down their arms on receiving the promise of pardon and a Parliament to be held speedily at York. Nevertheless, about a hundred were seized and sent to the Tower in London. Sixty-three were respited. Thirty-three, including the Abbot of Kirkstead, three of his monks, six of Bardney, four canons of Barlings, and seven secular priests were ordered for immediate execution. Soon after, the Abbot of Barlings, William Morland monk of Louth Park, Thomas Kendal Vicar of Louth, with two other priests and twelve laymen, were tried in London and condemned to death. Such was the King's pardon.

There is no doubt that the people both in the North and in the South were warmly in sympathy with the rising in Lincolnshire. The disposition of the people between Lincoln and London was as bad as possible. A servant of Sir William Hussey reported that "in every place by the way as his master and he came he had heard as well old people as young pray God speed the rebellious persons in Lincolnshire." So threatening was the public feeling that it called forth the greatest atrocities. At Windsor, a priest and a butcher were hanged by martial law, for some words of sympathy. And at Chelmsford, James Mallet, late chaplain to Queen Catharine, was executed for like words. In five counties, from the borders of Scotland to the Lune and the Humber, the agitation spread. Every suppression and spoliation of a monastery kindled indignation far and wide. Finally, they rose in arms, under the lead of Robert Aske, who boldly declared the cause of their rising. He said: "The commons were gnawn in the conscience with spreading of heretics, suppression of houses of religion, and other matters touching the common-

wealth." He also drew up a narrative for the King, in which he says :—

In all parts of the realm men's hearts much grudged with the suppression of abbeyes, and the first-fruits, by reason the same would be the destruction of the whole religion in England. And their especial grudge is against the Lord Cromwell, being reputed the destroyer of the commonwealth, as well amongst most part of the lords as all other the worshipful commons. And surely if he continue in favour and presence with your Grace, it will danger the occasion of new commotions which will be very dangerous to your Grace's person; for as far as the said Aske can perceive, there is no earthly man so evil believed as the said Lord Cromwell is with the commoners. . . . And also the said Aske saith that the most part of all the realm greatly impugneth against certain bishops of the new learning, refusing them and their folk as heretics, and the great causes of this late commotion; and also against the Lord Chancellor for so general granting of injunctions, and for playing of *ambi-dexter* in granting and dissolving of injunctions—(Father Gasquet's "*Henry VIII.*," &c., ii. 93).

Another fragment of Aske's examination goes more fully into the reasons of the rising :—

In which parts [the North] of late days they had but small comfort by ghostly teaching, and by occasion of the said suppression the Divine service of Almighty God is much diminished, great numbers of masses unsaid, and the blessed consecration of the Sacrament now not used and showed in those places, to the distress of the faith and spiritual comfort to man's soul. The temple of God is now razed and pulled down; the ornaments and relics of the Church of God unreverently used; the tombs and sepulchres of honourable and noble men pulled down and sold.

And further: "It was thought that the divorce made by the Bishop of Canterbury, hearing that appeal, was not lawful. Yea, and then men doubted the authority of his consecration, having not his pall as his predecessor had."

From these extracts it is clear that the motives of the Pilgrimage of Grace were chiefly spiritual. They took as their banners the Five Sacred Wounds and the Cross (ii. 110).

Robert Aske was of an old Yorkshire family. There were three brothers—John, Christopher, and Robert. All three possessed property in the county of York. Robert was a barrister in good practice at Westminster. When crossing the Humber on his way to London, he heard that the commons in Lincolnshire were up; and when farther on his road he was met by mounted men, who forced him to take the oath to be true to the commons. He was then forced to lead the insurgents, who already were 4000 men. When this rising collapsed, he returned to Yorkshire, but the movement had spread through

the Northern counties from sea to sea. With 9000 men he marched to York. In many places the monks and nuns were reinstated in their monasteries. Day by day the people flocked to the banner of the Pilgrimage of Grace. Lords Nevill, Latimer, and Lumley had 10,000 men under St. Cuthbert's banner. Another force of 5000 men joined Robert Aske. He moved upon Doncaster with between thirty and forty thousand "well tried on horseback." They had the banners of the Lincoln rising, and each wore on his arm a badge of the "Five Wounds" or a cross with I.H.S. Lord Darcy, Sir Robert Constable, and the Archbishop of York took the oath of the Pilgrimage of Grace. On the side of the King, the Earl of Shrewsbury, with his armed tenants, was at Doncaster; and the Duke of Norfolk with about 5000 men. If, as many desired, they had been attacked, there can be little doubt that the victory would have been with the people. Aske restrained them; and, at the request of the Duke of Norfolk, drew up a set of articles to be sent to the King. Long delays followed, and many forsook the Pilgrimage. The King's forces grew to 20,000 men, but they were still too few to attack the Pilgrimage. The King promised a general pardon. The Duke of Norfolk wrote to the King, saying: "In the end you said you would esteem no promise that you should make to the rebels, nor think your honour touched in the breach and violation of the same" (ii. 216). And so, indeed, it befell. Aske, trusting the Duke of Norfolk, persuaded the people, to the number of 3000, to accept the pardon. The royal herald came the same night, and the people returned to their homes. Aske and others tore off the crosses and badges, and the first act of the Pilgrimage of Grace came to an end.

The King took care, as before, to feed his vanity by instructing his ambassadors to make statements notoriously false to the foreign Courts. "You may boldly affirm," he says, "that the rising was made by those who desired to plunder in the tumult" — of which there was never a sign; "that the people were deceived by their leaders, and were lamenting and suing for pardon;" that "both shires [Lincoln and York] remain wholly at our commandment, neither having our pardon *nor any certain promise of the same*;" "that within six days" we had "two such armies as we think would first have devoured the said rebels and yet have remained right able, every of them, after to have given battle to the greatest prince christened." His subjects, he said, were "so forward, so willing, and so ready" to fight against the rebels that "we were rather enforced to keep them back," though they, the rebels, were "such a multitude as doubt you not had been able, well furnished with

artillery, ordnance, and good captains, to have overthrown the better of either the Emperor's or French King's army." Even Cromwell was truth itself in this atmosphere of lies. Both he and the King were unwilling to "adventure the King's honour in battle," and the Council told the Duke of Norfolk their "regret to receive so many desperate letters, and in the same to hear no mention of the remedies."

By this time the first rising of the Pilgrimage was over; the people, under the advice of Robert Aske, had returned to their homes, fully trusting the King's promise of free pardon and a Parliament to be speedily assembled in York. Of this we have a witness beyond suspicion of partiality.

The pardon and the Parliament [Mr. Froude says] were distinctly promised. It appears, certainly, that further engagements were virtually entered upon, or that words were used, perhaps intentionally vague, which were interpreted by the insurgents through their hopes and wishes. They believed, perhaps they were led to believe, that their entire petition had been granted: they had accomplished the object of their Pilgrimage, and they were satisfied.

Not so the King.

Under what provocation, then, did the second rising of the Pilgrimage come about?

First, because the King was irritated by the return of many of the expelled religious to their houses. Next, because, after the promulgation of pardon by the King's herald, four monks of Cartmell and eight yeomen were executed. Still Aske restrained the people, trusting that the King would stand to his promises. At this time Henry wrote to him, and pressed him to come to Windsor. "We have conceived," he says, "a great desire to speak with you, and to hear of your mouth the whole circumstance and beginning of that matter;" and he promised that he would "accomplish towards you, and all others, our general and free pardon already granted unto you" (ii. 131). Aske therefore went to the King, and drew up in writing a full narrative of the causes of discontent. On his return to the North, with assurances of the King's pardon, he found the people much excited. They mistrusted the King's word. They were disheartened by the delay. They believed the royal troops to be multiplying around them. Aske, therefore, saw the danger, and wrote to the King, saying that the people were alarmed: they believed (1) that the Parliament at York would not be assembled; (2) that royal letters had been sent to call the shires to him; (3) that they mistrusted the promises of pardon; (4) that strongholds were being fortified; (5) that tenths were being enforced; (6) that Cromwell was still in high favour. Aske added that, in

passing through the shires, he found the people "wildly minded," and that "on my faith I do greatly fear the end to be only by battle." The King thanked Aske by letter for his services.

Nevertheless, Sir Francis Bygod endeavoured to seize Hull and Beverley, but failed, and was taken prisoner. Eight thousand men from Westmoreland attacked Carlisle. The Duke of Norfolk proclaimed martial law, and execution began without remorse. From this time all promises were broken. Lord Darcy and Robert Aske were arrested. They had taken no part in this second rising, and Aske had been the chief peacemaker between the King and the people.

By this time the whole country was at the King's mercy. The religious were accused of having fed the insurgents, of having denied the headship of the King, of having spoken treasonable words. Spies and false brethren abounded. Who can wonder that, either by sympathy or by intimidation, many were involved in a rising which was so largely for their own defence against sacrilege. Then came the punishments. Seventy-four of the Westmoreland men who attacked Carlisle were hanged by Norfolk from the walls. A commission under the Duke sat at York. It could hardly be believed that the friends and kinsmen of the prisoners were deliberately forced to act as jurors on their own kinsmen. Norfolk wrote to Cromwell, saying :

I doubt not to have the greatest appearance that was seen at York of many years, on Tuesday night and Wednesday morning [May 9, 1537]. I will sit upon those that be named in the schedule on Wednesday by nine o'clock, and also upon two monks of the Charterhouse, for not knowing of the King to be supreme head of the Church, unless they do openly recant from their false opinion, which I think they will not do. . . . I have so provided that we shall lack no numbers, if I would have four inquests. And I am at this time of such acquaintance with the gentlemen that I dare well adventure to put divers on the quests [of whom] some hath married with the Lord Darcy's daughters and some with Sir Robert Constable's. And I will put John Aske thereupon, who is elder brother to Robert Aske. Doubt ye not, my lord, but the matter shall be found according to the King's pleasure. . . . I will not spare to put the best friends these men have upon one of the inquests, to prove their affection whether they will serve his Majesty truly and frankly in this matter, or else to favour their friends ; only they will not find, then they may have thanks according to their cankered hearts—(ii. 155-7).

Robert Aske and Lord Darcy were found guilty of treason. Lord Darcy was executed on Tower Hill, Robert Aske was hanged in chains at York and Constable at Hull. The Abbots of Jervaulx and Fountains, the Priors of Bridlington and Gisborough, a Dominican friar, Percy, Bygod, Bulmer, Ham-

merton, Lumley, and Tempest were hanged and quartered at Tyburn. So ended the second rising of the Pilgrimage of Grace.

The people were terror-struck by these relentless cruelties. The Duke of Norfolk was instructed to force the expelled religious to go into other monasteries of their Order, or to "punish them as vagabonds and enemies of the commonwealth, so as no one of that sort remain at large in that country" (ii. 160).

Before you close up our said banner again, you shall in any wise cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village, or hamlet that have offended in this rebellion, as well by the hanging of them up in trees as by the quartering of them, and the setting of their heads and quarters in every town, great and small, and in all other such places as they may be a fearful spectacle to all . . . which we require you to do without pity or respect [&c.]. You shall, without pity or circumstance . . . cause all the monks and canons that be in any wise faulty to be tied up without further delay or ceremony, to the terrible example of others—(ii. 161).

It will be remembered that, on the accusations of Layton, Legh, and London, Parliament had passed an Act by which the King was only empowered to suppress all houses of which the income was less than £200 a year. This would not include the greater monasteries. The King, therefore, obtained an Act whereby, for the first time, estates tail were forfeited by attainder. By the word "successors" this was extended to abbots; so that the attainder of an abbot carried the forfeiture of the monastery and all its lands and goods. This iniquity cannot be justified by any law or precedent. From that time the religious were taken in a snare, as the Convocation in 1534 had been involved in *præmunire*. The process of attainting and of hanging thenceforward went on briskly without let of law or hindrance of justice.

The convents of women, or nunneries, were about a hundred and forty. We have already seen how little even such men as Layton and London could bring against them. Indeed, they were at times constrained by the undeniable evidence of fact to speak the truth; and we have, from time to time, beautiful pictures of the simple and peaceful life of the nuns of England. With few exceptions, they were poor: and their life was less cut off from the outer world because their inclosure was less strict and because they received and educated the daughters of both rich and poor.

The following document shows the interior life of a convent and the vigilant care of the Church; we can only give it in brief:—

Edward, by the sufferance of God, Archbishop of York, Primate of

England, and Metropolitan, to our beloved daughters in Christ, the Prioress and Convent of Synningthwaite, of our said diocese, sendeth greeting and his blessing.

He then goes on :—

First we enjoin and command that all and every one of the sisters be obedient to the prioress in all things lawful, &c.

Item, that the doors be surely locked every night, as compline is done: and not unlocked in winter till seven in the morning, and in summer until six o'clock.

Item, that no secular women, whatsoever they be, shall be allowed to sleep in the nuns' dorter.

Item, that they keep no secular women to serve them: that if they be sick, the infirmaress shall see that they want nothing.

Item, that they keep silence in the choir, cloister, frater, and dorter.

Item, that no person shall be admitted to the professed habit of nun, sister, or converse, nor any spiritual or secular person be admitted to dwell, without licence under our seals.

Item, that no person be admitted as a nun for any money or advantage.

Item, that no one, under pain of the more curse [greater excommunication] shall go forth of the house without licence of the prioress.

After many more wise and minute injunctions, the Archbishop concludes by ordering that they be read at least once a month in the chapter-house in the presence of all the sisters. The same injunctions were given to more than one Yorkshire convent. They show how carefully the common life of perfect equality in all things of food, clothing, and the like was guarded. In one such rule the prioress and sisters are exhorted "to eat one bread and drink one drink and of one all" (ii. 215). The nuns were often of the highest families; but the common life was alike to all.

We have a beautiful insight into their life in a letter to Cromwell :—

We have surveyed [say the commissioners] the monastery or nunnery of Pollesworth in the county of Warwick. Therein is an abbess, named Dame Alice Fitzherbert, of the age of sixty years, a very sad, discreet, and religious woman, and hath been head and governor these twenty-seven years. And in the same house under her rule are twelve virtuous and religious nuns—and of good conversation as by the open fame and report of the country. . . . And in the town of Pollesworth are forty-four tenements, and never a plough but one: the residue be artificers, labourers, and victuallers, and live in effect by the same house. And the repair and resort there is made to the gentlemen's children, and sojourners that there do live to the number sometimes of thirty and sometimes of forty and more, that there be right virtuously brought up.

Of another convent an eye-witness says:—

The young maidens were brought up (not at Hakney and Sarum Schools to learn pride and wantonness) but at the nunneries, where they had examples of piety and humility and modesty and obedience to imitate and to practise. Here they learned needle-work, the art of confectionery, surgery (for anciently there were no apothecaries or surgeons—the gentlewomen did cure their poor neighbours: their hands are now too fine), physic, writing, drawing, &c.

Old Jacques could see from his house the nuns of the priory (S. Mary's, near Kingston S. Michael) come forth into the Nymph-hay (a meadow) with their rocks (distaffs) and wheels to spin, and with their sewing work. He would say that he had told three score and ten, that is, of nuns, lay sisters, widows, old maids, and young girls—(ii. 224).

It was into such peaceful and useful homes that Cranmer's "ruffian" instinctively launched his Laytons and Londons. Strong in their innocence, these defenceless nuns, true daughters of England's best life, resisted with a high courage the violence of injustice. Again and again they refused to betray their trust by surrender of their convents. When the Royal Commissioners came to Ambresbury in Wiltshire, they endeavoured by all means to persuade or to force the Abbess Florence Bonnerman to surrender her convent.

Albeit we have used as many ways with her as our poor wits could attain, yet in the end we could not, by any persuasion, bring her to any conformity. At all times she rested, and so remaineth, in these terms: "If the King's Highness command me to go from this house, I will gladly go, though I beg my bread: and as for pension, I care for none." In these terms she was in all her conversation, praying us many times to trouble her no further herein.

At the end of four months she resigned her office "at the King's bidding" (ii. 229). Her successor surrendered the convent, and received a pension of £100 a year.

The friaries throughout England were about 200 in number: Franciscan, 60; Dominican, 53; Austin Friars, 42; Carmelites, 36; and others less important. The friars may be computed at 1800. Dr. George Brown, an Augustinian friar, was appointed as General over all the mendicant Orders, "in reward," as Chapuis says, "for having married the Lady Anne" to the King. The suppressions went on apace. "The terror inspired by the constant accusations, spies, trials, convictions, and cruel executions of those guilty only of verbal treason or of expressing disapproval of the King and his actions bore down all opposition." The business-like fashion of this ghastly work may be seen in the city records of Canterbury:—

A.D. 1538-9.—Paid for half a ton of timber to make a pair of gallaces [gallows] to hang Friar Stone. For a carpenter for making the same, and the dray. For a labourer that digged the holes. To four men that helped to set up the gallows. For drink to them. For carriage of the timber from Stablegate to the dungeon. For a hurdle. For a load of wood, and for a horse to draw him to the dungeon. For two men who set the kettle and parboiled him. To two men who carried his quarters to the gate and set them up. For a halter to hang him. For two half penny halters. For sandwich cord. For straw. To the woman that scoured the kettle. To him that did execution. 4s. 4d.

Honest brokers! exact to the last farthing.

Most of the surrenders were made in the years 1538, 1539. About 150 houses of men signed away their property under the terror which was upon them (ii. 286). Between 1538 and 1540 the numbers were as follows (ii. 323):—

Benedictine	54
Cluniac	8
Cistercian	40
Carthusian	9
Austin canons	59
Præmonstratensian	12
Gilbertine	20
	<hr/>
	202

And the number of inmates:

Monks and canons	3221
Friars	1800
Monks and canons in lesser monasteries	1500
Nuns	1560
	<hr/>
	8081

Even if it were possible to relate in an article the history of the dissolution of the greater monasteries it would be needless, for in every case we find the same round of injustice, tyranny, and hypocrisy in the King and in his minions. We may, however, take the three abbeys of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester, which for importance were among the chief monasteries, and, inasmuch as the same sickening tale of falsehood and blood is to be found in each, we will describe only the abbey of Glastonbury, which for antiquity and greatness was the chief in England.

History assigns its beginning to S. Joseph of Arimathæa. It was the chief sanctuary of Britain. It was spared when the Saxon invasion wrecked the Christianity of our land. S. Paulinus was said to have dwelt there before his labours in the North. It

was the home of S. Dunstan, and the sacred retreat of our Saxon kings. It had an unbroken succession till Richard Whiting was hanged as a traitor and crowned as a martyr. He had been appointed in 1525 by Cardinal Wolsey "as an upright and religious monk, a provident and discreet man; a priest commendable for his life, virtues, and learning." The Abbot of Glastonbury was a peer of Parliament, the possessor of vast estates, and a high authority in the country. He had four parks, with domains and manors bringing in £3000 a year, or about ten times the amount in our money. The buildings of Glastonbury were magnificent. The church was the longest in England next to S. Paul's in London as it then was. "The house is great, goodly, and so princely as we have not seen the like." So the spoilers said. The library was second to none, and full of treasures in manuscript and books. Every Wednesday and Friday the poor came to the great gate for relief. Sometimes five hundred were fed at the abbot's table. The churches depending on the abbey were under the jurisdiction of a monastic archdeacon. The abbot had a force of 1274 men for the service of the King, and "1271 ready to serve, with 500 pairs of harness." All this was too much for our Ahab: Naboth must die.

The abbot and the monks had taken the oath of the royal supremacy, which at that early date was confusedly imagined not to extend beyond temporal things, nor to exclude the spiritual primacy of Rome. What cause was there to be found against them? Even Layton was baffled. He said, at Glastonbury "there is nothing notable; the brethren be so straight kept that they cannot offend; but fain they would, if they might, as they confess, and so the fault is not with them." He had to make apology afterwards to Cromwell for speaking so much truth. Whiting did not attend Parliament in 1539. The Royal Commissioners proceeded to ransack his apartments. They found "letters and books, arguments against the King's divorce, divers pardons, copies of bulls, and the counterfeit life of S. Thomas à Becket in print," but "we could not find any letter that was material." Nevertheless, he appeared, they said, to have "a cankered and traitorous mind against the King and his succession." "And so with as fair words as" they could, "being a very weak man and sickly," they sent him up to London to the Tower to be examined again by Cromwell. A week later they wrote that they "have daily found money and plate," and then that they have come to the knowledge of "divers and sundry treasons." The riches of the abbey, before any sentence, were handed over and placed with those of "attainted persons and places." The abbot, with the Abbots of Reading and Colchester, were condemned by Cromwell, acting, as Mr. Froude says, "as prosecutor, judge, and

jury." Cromwell writes: "Item, councillors to give evidence against the Abbot of Glaston. . . . Item, to see that the evidence be well sorted, and the indictments well drawn." "Item, the King's counsel shall be with me all this day, for the full conclusion of the indictments." "Item, the Abbot of Glaston to be tried at Glaston, and also to be executed there." Sentenced before tried. So wrote this man of blood, and so it was done. The abbot was taken back to Wells, "arraigned, and next day put to execution, with two other of his monks, for the robbing of Glastonbury church." He was eighty years old. They tied him to a hurdle, dragged him to the top of Tor Hill, and handed him over to the executioner. "One quarter," Sir John Russell writes, "standeth at Wells, another at Bath, and at Ilchester and Bridgewater the rest; and his head upon the abbey gate at Glaston." After this the abbey was wrecked and razed to the ground.

We need not detail the destruction of the abbeys of Reading and Colchester. Their ruins tell their own tale to this day.

Father Gasquet has collected with great and exact industry the values of lands, jewels, vestments, vessels, gold, silver, and lead of each monastery or convent, so far as records exist, and for the first time has presented them in two volumes accessible to all. Hitherto they have lain hid in works of great bulk such as Dugdale's "Monasticon," or in the manuscripts of the Rolls, the British Museum, and the archives of cathedrals. It is impossible to recite them in the limits of a review, and it will be enough to give here the Third Appendix to his second volume:—

Account of the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations from
the 24 April 1536 to Michaelmas 1547:

Receipts, £1,338,442 9 2½; *Disbursements*, £1,229,042 14 10¾
Balance, £109,399 14 2¾

Account of Sir John Williams for Plate received in Royal
Jewel House:

Receipts for Plate, &c., £79,081 16 4½

The value of the jewels is not recorded. It must have been very great.

Much of the money thus obtained may have gone to public uses and to the defence of the country. But there can be no doubt that a vast amount of the spoil was wasted. When a monastery and its church were "defaced"—that is, wrecked, and pulled down to the foundation—the people on the spot, from good motives as well as bad, carried off what they could. The commissioners themselves did not forget their own interest. Much was lost on the spot. The amount that reached the Court of

Augmentations was greatly diminished in its passage. The annual income of the King in the eleven years from 1536 to 1547 was below the amount yearly received even by the lesser monasteries. Much was lavished upon favourites, or sold at nominal prices, or given to courtiers. Lord Audley had the property of more than nine religious foundations; Lord Clinton, of twelve; the Duke of Northumberland, of eighteen; Suffolk, of thirty. Men that were nothing yesterday rose to great wealth on the spoils of the religious and the patrimony of the poor.

No estimate can be made of the loss in works of art of every kind. Works of the greatest value were treated only for the weight of the silver or gold. The noblest and most beautiful examples of architectural skill were broken like the stones by the roadside. It was the reign of Apollyon, the revel of the destroyer. When the instincts of faith are dead, art, skill, and beauty are common and unclean. The destruction of illuminated Missals, Uses, and choral books has robbed us not only of works of art, but of a tradition of early Church music, the accumulated skill of long years.

This full and minute history of the suppression of monasteries, and of the schism which cast England, bound hand and foot, before the royal power, is of great value. It throws a clear though indirect light upon the religious state of the people of England. They were not guilty of these deeds of sacrilege, blood, and schism. "While the great revolution which struck down the Church was in progress, England looked silently on." In earlier contests about exactions, and ecclesiastical courts, and the like, the people went with the King. "But from the enslavement of the priesthood, from the gagging of the pulpits, from the suppression of the monasteries, the bulk of the nation stood aloof." "It is only through the stray depositions of royal spies that we catch a glimpse of the wrath and hate which lay seething under this silence of the people. For the silence was the silence of terror."* Cromwell's administration was "the English Terror." By terror he mastered the King and crushed the people. At his fall, Cranmer pleaded for him in words worthy of both. His surety "was only by your Majesty, who loved your Majesty, as I ever thought, *no less than God*." As soon as Cromwell became Secretary, "spies were scattered broadcast over the land." "The air was thick with tales of plots," and Erasmus said that "Men felt as if a scorpion lay sleeping under every stone." "Men's talk with their closest friends found its way to his ear." The old nobles writhed under Wolsey, who rose from nothing. To them Cromwell was a "low born knave." The "officials" who had

* Green's "History of the English People," vol. ii. p. 164.

surrounded the King and were ennobling and enriching themselves were their contempt and detestation. One of the chief of them at the Council Board denounced Cromwell to his face.

It is thou that art the very special and chief cause of all this rebellion and wickedness, and dost daily travail to bring us to our ends and strike off our heads. I trust that ere thou die, though thou wouldst procure all the noblest heads within the realm to be stricken off, yet there shall one head remain that shall strike off thy head.

Cromwell's end was, as we have seen, a supreme act of retributive justice. He fell in an hour, and was beheaded without a trial.

Here we have the history of this great sacrilege. It was the act of one bad man, by men as bad as himself, mastering a weak and sensual king. The people were guiltless of this sin which cried to Heaven: they would have stood to their faith if later policies and atrocious acts had not driven them to desperation.*

The reign of Henry VIII. was a long series of alternate intrigues ending on Tower Hill. Like all tyrants, he was never his own master. "He conspired against his Ministers, or his wives. Secretly he sought for allies to overthrow the hated tyrants, but until he found a strong and decided hand to carry him forward, and to destroy his victim, he never ventured to assert his authority. Wolsey ousted Fox and Catharine. Anne Boleyn overthrew Wolsey." "Norfolk and Gardiner avenged Anne's fate on the Earl of Essex, to be in turn overthrown by Seymour and Dudley."* Norfolk and Surrey were sent to the Tower. Surrey was beheaded. Only the King's death saved Norfolk. "From first to last supreme power was vested in some other person than the King—there was an *alter Rex*." Meanwhile Catholic England was withering up from its roots, and its people were torn from the unity of the Christian world. Will its desolations last for ever? Will not the blood of its martyrs, and the tears of its poor ascend to the Lord of Sabaoth?

We cannot close this brief review of Father Gasquet's second volume without thanking him for the years of patient industry by which from books and manuscripts, from archives and authorities hitherto unexplored, he has brought within our reach so large a body of knowledge. For 300 years Englishmen have believed and handed on a tradition of calumny and false witness. Until now it has been feebly denied and hardly refuted. It will need a bold hand to deny or to refute the counter-accusation of these two volumes. Till this is done they hold the field.

HENRY EDWARD, *Card.-Archbishop.*

* Friedmann's "Anne Boleyn," vol. i. p. 14.

ART. II.—“IRISH MINSTRELSY.”

1. *Irish Minstrelsy. A Selection of Irish Songs, Lyrics, and Ballads.* Edited, with Notes and Introduction, by H. HALLIDAY SPARLING. London: Walter Scott.
2. *Vagrant Verses.* By ROSA MULHOLLAND. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1886.
3. *Louise de la Vallière, and other Poems.* By KATHERINE TYNAN. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1885.
4. *Shamrocks.* By KATHERINE TYNAN. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1887.

THE little volume which bears the title that we have borrowed for the present article, is one in the series of “Canterbury Poets;” and let us say at once that it appears to us excellent in its kind. The Irish are generally accounted a poetical race—far more so than their cool, matter-of-fact English neighbours: and as regards certain poetical qualities, notably quick and lively fancy, their gifts are unquestionable. Yet we cannot but think that the Irish, like the Celtic race in general, are deficient in those deeper and loftier qualities of imagination which are the heritage of their Teutonic brethren. Men estimate, after all, a nation’s poetical capacity by the poets and poems which it produces. Now what are the facts with respect to Ireland? We must set aside, as practically a sealed book to English critics, the old poets who wrote in the native language: and since English has long been virtually the mother-tongue of most educated Irishmen, we can set them aside with the less injustice. In most departments of literature England has little, if any, advantage over the sister isle. In oratory, if Grattan and O’Connell were forgotten, Burke would still bear the cause of Irish supremacy on his Atlantean shoulders. In prose, the same brilliant genius is but one of a numerous band. In poetry, however, it is otherwise. We look in vain for Irish singers to companion Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats; although by restricting the comparison to modern times, when the use of English has become general in Ireland, that comparison is rendered entirely fair. A fact so patent would seem to argue a racial defect; and on the whole the present volume, we reluctantly confess, impresses us as bearing out such a conclusion.

When we compare this collection of Irish with a collection—for instance—of Scottish minstrelsy (perhaps the richest in fine ballads and lyrics of any in the three kingdoms), we are struck, more particularly in referring to the popular and traditional element, with the absence of ballads or songs distinguished by those

subtle imaginative touches which illumine like lightning-flashes the best old Scotch work. There is nothing to equal, *e.g.*, the Scotch ballad on the subject of Chevy Chase, with its stanza in which the doomed Douglas relates his dream.

For I have dreamed a fearful dream
Beyond the Isle of Skye;
I saw a dead man win a fight,
And I think that man was I;

nothing to equal the "Demon Lover," lately made familiar to the public by the musical setting of a Scotch composer; or the pathetic, restrained simplicity of such a lyric as that which laments the fate of "bonnie John Campbell;"

Saddled and bridled,
And gallant rade he;
Hame cam his gude horse,
But never cam he!

Still less is there anything of the simple directness without high imagination which characterizes the old English ballads; indeed, racial differences make this a thing hardly to be expected. The absence of restrained simplicity, of a knowledge when to stop, appears to us a frequent defect in many of the poems which make up the bulk of this volume; the true Celtic effusion broadens only too often into diffuseness; nor is the diffuseness compensated for by richness of diction or wealth of striking imagery. On the whole, when compared with such national collections as we have referred to, this collection affects us as being, in its main pretensions, distinctly on a lower level. Too many of the average poems express undistinguished ideas in undistinguished language. This is not simplicity of the genuine poetical kind. The simplicity of diction which tells in poetry is a choice simplicity, unconscious perhaps of its own choiceness, but none the less, whether strong and virile, tender, or mournful, choice. And these defects counteract the redeeming qualities of genuine emotion or heartfelt passion, which few of the poems are entirely without.

While, however, we feel bound to record this general impression, far be it from us to deny that there *is* excellence in the volume, though perhaps it requires a little search. For this, perhaps, must be blamed the very comprehensiveness which is one of the book's chief merits; a smaller, more confined selection might have produced a higher effect. It is entirely catholic in its range; embracing translations from the Erse, popular songs and ballads (whether traditional or by writers more or less modern), street-songs, and a few poems by modern Irish authors, which (though scarcely of a popular kind) are national in sub-

ject. Nor does it limit itself to the popular side; it comprises also some of the best known Orange effusions. It would be strange indeed if, amidst so wide and various a body of verse, there were nothing noteworthy; and in a brief review of these more noteworthy things, we shall follow, as far as convenience will permit, the rough classification given above.

Coming to consider the translations from ancient Irish poetry, we are confronted at once with *the* disability under which Irish minstrelsy halts as compared with her Scottish sister.* That sister has sung from time long remote in what is virtually a dialect of English; so that Englishmen have little more difficulty in understanding her than in reading their own more archaic poets. But Ireland, in her bygone ages of literary cultivation, complained, loved, exulted, in a language which is now as dark to the majority of educated Irishmen as to educated Englishmen. Upon her has fallen that strangest, saddest calamity which can fall upon the bowed head of a nation, when in the ears of her own children her speech sounds faint and alien, when to all but a surely-narrowing few of her own chosen sons she must voice through interpreters her ancient woes. Englishmen who speak an imperial and imperious tongue, whose rule is wider and mightier than their empire itself, can scarcely realize this crowning sorrow of a dethroned race. Better, they may well think, that England should go down to the oblivious tomb of Babylon or Rome, her ear deaf, her hair blanched in the unrelenting dust, than survive, a ghostly nationality, haunting disconsolate a ruined throne, to hear her offspring imitate the accents of a rival and a foe. But because this thing has befallen Ireland it is impossible to judge what may, or may not, be the poetical treasures buried underneath her shattered language.

This book throws little light upon the question. Poetical translation in its true sense is one of the rarest, most difficult achievements in literature: in English literature the masterpieces of this kind may almost be counted on the fingers. And the translations in this volume but confirm an impression derived from preceding specimens which we have seen of the sort—that either there is something in Irish, perhaps in Celtic poetry as a whole, essentially untranslatable (at least into our Teutonic tongue); or else that Irish poetry has been singularly unfortunate in its translators. Both reasons, perhaps, are accountable for what is, we think, an undeniable fact—the slightness of the effect which any translation from the old Irish produces upon an

* *Her Scottish sister*; for the Lowland Scots, in whose tongue the minstrelsy referred to is written, though doubtless a mixed race, must have some Celtic, if not Gaelic, blood in their veins.

English reader. The only really impressive poem ranging under this head in the collection is Clarence Mangan's "Dark Rosaleen." And as if to prove the rule which we have ventured to assert, it has just a little more claim to the title of a translation than have the beautiful lines on the Hellenic gods in Coleridge's "Wallenstein" to be a translation of the two slight lines in the German original. If the reader turn to page 116 of the "Minstrelsy," he will find a rendering by Furlong of the same poem, a rendering which the editor (nor do we doubt his word) declares to be far more literal than Mangan's. The reader can thus judge for himself what liberties Mangan must have taken with the Irish poem. They are outrageous, or would be outrageous were the success not so complete. If attention had not been called to the fact, the two poems might conceivably be read without suspicion of their common origin. But poetry is a rootedly immoral art, in which success excuses wellnigh everything. That in the soldier is flat blasphemy which in the captain, the master of his craft, is but commendable daring. Exactly as a great poet may plagiarize to his heart's content, because he plagiarizes well (since Spartan law holds good in literature, where stealing is honourable, provided it be done with neatness and dexterity), so the truly poetical translator may rewrite a foreign poem and call it a translation, nor will any one seriously object except the excellent persons who understand something of translation and nothing of poetry. Who cares one doit what was the measure of Fitzgerald's fidelity to Omar Khayyám, or would be gravely disturbed could it be discovered to-morrow that Omar was as utter a myth as Rowley himself? A few oriental students perhaps : that is all. One of these self-justifying pieces of poetical immorality is "Dark Rosaleen." Poet as Mangan was, we have seen nothing of his so poetical. It is a beautiful, impassioned song, passionate indeed to the heart's core. The truest lyric melody chimes throughout its fervour ; in which respect again it differs from Mangan's usual style. It is addressed to Ireland under her mystical title of "The Little Dark Rose ;" and though long for quotation, it is at once so unique of its kind in this volume, and so practically unknown to the general public, that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting it.

DARK ROSALEEN.

O my dark Rosaleen,
Do not sigh, do not weep !
The priests are on the ocean green,
They march along the deep.
There's wine from the royal Pope
Upon the ocean green ;

"Irish Minstrelsy."

And Spanish ale shall give you hope,
 My dark Rosaleen !
 My own Rosaleen !
 Shall glad your heart, shall give you hope,
 Shall give you health, and help, and hope,
 My dark Rosaleen !

Over hills, and through dales,
 Have I roamed for your sake ;
 All yesterday I sailed with sails
 On river and on lake.
 The Erne, at its highest flood,
 I dashed across unseen,
 For there was lightning in my blood,
 My dark Rosaleen !
 My own Rosaleen !
 Oh ! there was lightning in my blood,
 Red lightning lightened through my blood,
 My dark Rosaleen !

All day long in unrest,
 To and fro, do I move,
 The very soul within my breast
 Is wasted for you, love !
 The heart in my bosom faints
 To think of you, my queen,
 My life of life, my saint of saints,
 My dark Rosaleen !
 My own Rosaleen !
 To hear your sweet and sad complaints,
 My life, my love, my saint of saints,
 My dark Rosaleen !

Woe and pain, pain and woe,
 Are my lot, night and noon,
 To see your bright face clouded so,
 Like to the mournful moon.
 But yet will I rear your throne
 Again in golden sheen ;
 'Tis you shall reign, shall reign alone,
 My dark Rosaleen !
 My own Rosaleen !
 'Tis you shall have the golden throne,
 'Tis you shall reign, and reign alone,
 My dark Rosaleen !

Over dews, over sands,
 Will I fly for your weal :
 Your holy, delicate white hands
 Shall girdle me with steel.

At home, in your emerald bowers,
 From morning's dawn till e'en,
 You'll pray for me, my flower of flowers,
 My dark Rosaleen !
 My fond Rosaleen !
 You'll think of me through daylight's hours,
 My virgin flower, my flower of flowers,
 My dark Rosaleen !

I could scale the blue air,
 I could plough the high hill,
 Oh, I could kneel all night in prayer,
 To heal your many ills !
 And one beamy smile from you
 Would float like light between
 My toils and me, my own, my true,
 My dark Rosaleen !
 My fond Rosaleen !
 Would give me life and soul anew,
 A second life, a soul anew,
 My dark Rosaleen !

Oh, the Erne shall run red
 With redundance of blood,
 The earth shall rock beneath our tread,
 And flames warp hill and wood,
 And gun-peal and slogan cry
 Wake many a glen serene,
 Ere you shall fade, ere you shall die,
 My dark Rosaleen !
 My own Rosaleen !
 The Judgment Hour must first be nigh,
 Ere you can fade, ere you can die,
 My dark Rosaleen !

There are other translations by Mangan in the volume, but none at all equal to this. Of these others, "Kathaleen Ny Houlahan" is, we think, the best; but though it contains graceful stanzas, it is not a very striking poem. "Kincora" adequately represents the level of his remaining versions, and exemplifies at the same time some of the difficulties which beset the Celtic translator. It is little more than an enumeration of vanished glories, something after the mode of Villon's famous "Ballade des Dames du Temps Jadis;" but, unlike that poem, its lengthy catalogue of names stirs no ripple of associations in the mind of the cultivated Englishman; nor is there any magical refrain such as

Ou sont les neiges d'antan ?

to point with pathos the melancholy moral. To the Irishman it

may possess interest, to the English reader it becomes simply tedious. Among the versions by other hands we notice especially two—a graceful little love-song by Edward Walsh, "Mo Craoibhin Cno;" and a spirited boat-song by Samuel Ferguson, so virile in its lilt as to be worth quotation.

SONG OF THE BOATMAN.

Bark that bears me through foam and squall,
 You in the storm are my castle wall;
 Though the sea should redden from bottom to top,
 From tiller to mast she takes no drop.
 On the tide-top, the tide-top,
 Wherry aroon, my land and store!
 On the tide-top, the tide-top,
 She is the boat can sail *go-leor*!

She dresses herself and goes gliding on,
 Like a dame in her robes of the Indian lawn;
 For God has blessed her, gunnel and wale—
 And oh! if you saw her stretch out to the gale!
 On the tide-top, &c.

Whillan* ahoy, old heart of stone!
 Stooping so black o'er the beach alone,
 Answer me well—on the bursting brine
 Saw you ever a bark like mine?
 On the tide-top, &c.

Says Whillan, since first I was made of stone,
 I have looked o'er the beach alone;
 But till to-day on the bursting brine
 Saw I never a bark like thine!
 On the tide-top, &c.

God of the air! the seamen shout,
 When they see us tossing the brine about;
 Give us the shelter of strand or rock,
 Or through and through us she goes with a shock!
 On the tide-top, the tide-top,
 Wherry aroon, my land and store!
 On the tide-top, the tide-top,
 She is the boat can sail *go-leor*!

In the department of popular songs and ballads we propose first to deal with those by modern writers, and this for the reason that they are in an overwhelming majority. Here the name of Thomas Davis overshadows all competitors. There are three of his ballads for every one of other authors. And since his reputa-

* A rock off Blacksod Bay.

tion is so established that it can receive no injury from our weak dissent, we have the less hesitation in liberating our artistic conscience by a considered protest. We cannot regard Davis as in any way a fine poet. The selection from his writings in this volume includes the famous "Fontenoy," darling of school-boys and public reciters, which is certainly one of the best of his ballads in the "Minstrelsy." Yet for all its undeniable spirit, the genuine glow of patriotic feeling which informs it throughout, it is nothing more than a favourable specimen of the Macaulay-cum-Scott ballad; and the Macaulay-cum-Scott ballad does not belong to a high order of poetry. We had Davis especially in our mind when we spoke of the Celtic effusion which readily broadens into diffuseness. The other ballads given as specimens of him display, far more than "Fontenoy," in painful measure his characteristic weaknesses. They differ from the best of Scott's martial ballads where they resemble Macaulay's, in being declamatory and rhetorical. But Macaulay's rhetoric was at least a concentrated and pointed rhetoric; the rhetoric of Davis sacrifices concentration, and in sacrificing concentration sacrifices effect. His diction is in its general character too much of the conventional type, undistinguished by originality or freshness; his ardour too liable to evaporate in profuse and exclamatory "gush." The undoubted presence, amid all these defects, of the ardour to which we have alluded, is the one thing which saves his average ballads from being the mere clever work of a facile writer. But we cannot concur in assigning him the high position among Irish poets to which he has been elevated by the general voice of his own countrymen. Yet that he should be a popular and influential poet is quite comprehensible. His writings are framed for popularity; their merits readily appeal to the uncultivated, their defects alienate only the cultivated, lover of poetry. The two best of his ballads here given, "The Sack of Baltimore" and "Fontenoy," are hackneyed beyond quotation. We select, therefore, instead, a little love-song marked, we think, by a certain simplicity and tenderness, if not very strikingly original.

THE WELCOME.

Come in the evening, or come in the morning,
Come when you're looked for, or come without warning,
Kisses and welcome you'll find here before you,
And the oftener you come here the more I'll adore you.
Light is my heart since the day we were plighted,
Red is my cheek that they told me was blighted,
The green of the trees looks far greener than ever,
And the linnets are singing, "True lovers, don't sever!"

I'll pull you sweet flowers, to wear, if you choose them;
 Or, after you've kissed them, they'll lie on my bosom.
 I'll fetch from the mountain its breeze to inspire you;
 I'll fetch from my fancy a tale that won't tire you.
 Oh! your step's like the rain to a summer-vexed farmer,
 Or sabre and shield to a knight without armour;
 I'll sing you sweet songs till the stars rise above me,
 Then, wandering, I'll wish you, in silence, to love me.

We'll look through the trees at the cliff and the eyrie;
 We'll tread round the rath on the track of the fairy;
 We'll look on the stars, and we'll list to the river,
 Till you'll ask of your darling what gift you can give her.
 Oh! she'll whisper you, "Love as unchangeably beaming
 And trust, when in secret, most tunelessly streaming,
 Till the starlight of heaven above us shall quiver
 As our souls flow in one down eternity's river."

So come in the evening, or come in the morning,
 Come when you're looked for, or come without warning,
 Kisses and welcome you'll find here before you,
 And the oftener you come here the more I'll adore you.
 Light is my heart since the day we were plighted,
 Red is my cheek that they told we was blighted,
 The green of the trees looks far greener than ever,
 And the linnets are singing, "True lovers, don't sever!"

Yet even here there is visible a tendency to cheap imagery, facile imagery devoid of selectness, in such lines as—

Your step's like the rain to the summer-vexed farmer,
 Or sabre and shield to a knight without armour.

We do not deny that the step of the lover is a welcome gladness to the maiden; and so likewise, we admit, is rain after drought to the farmer, or arms to an unarmed knight, or a pipe to the hardened smoker, or a loose ball to a batsman on a soft wicket, or two-penn'orth of rum to the irreclaimable drunkard, or a whole holiday to the lesson-vexed schoolboy, or—"various dings," as Hans Breitmann has it. And this is exactly the kind of imagery which can be turned out by the yard. *Fiat justitia*; there is precedent for it, we regretfully confess; an apologist could swim in precedent. Virgil, to go back only an odd two thousand years or so, has an amiable little partiality for this brand of imagery: "Sweet" (we apologize for forgetfulness of the original and a prosaic version), "Sweet is moisture to the standing corn, to weanling kids the arbutus, to teeming flocks the limber willow, Amyntas only is sweet to me." There is much more of the same kind throughout the Eclogues; and we candidly avow our opinion

that were it not for the superstitious homage accorded everything classical, it would be recognized as weak imagery, futile and primitive in kind. Indeed it is not in imagery that the power of Virgil, or of most Latin poets, resides: one page from "The Eve of St. Agnes" would outweigh in sheer loveliness of this description the whole "*Æneid*." But there are other examples, and more modern examples, of the device: amongst them one which is almost sufficient in itself to glorify the thing and stagger our judgment, since to this class of imagery must be referred those lines from Marlowe which every literary student knows

Oh, thou art fairer than the evening air
Clad in the beauty of a thousand stars!

For one moment censure droops its head rebuked: the comparison so indubitably falls within the proscribed species, yet the lines are so indubitably beautiful. But a little consideration will show that the exception is only a seeming exception: the image is beautiful, not *as* an image, but as a poetical picture; the charm is latent, not in the aptness of the simile, but in the isolated enchantment of the diction which sets before us the star-sown evening firmament. Were it not for this, we should cast aside as valueless a comparison which rested its sole ground of analogy on the fact that both the objects brought into relation were beautiful. We fear, therefore, that in default of similar compensation this precedent will not serve Davis' turn; and if it will not, we are ignorant what will. The mere defence that such similes have been used by great poets before him will not suffice; otherwise almost every vice in poetry might be sheltered under the great name of Shakespeare. For Ben Jonson was right: Shakespeare's lines would have been none the worse for an occasional blot; only thank heaven that Ben Jonson had not the blotting of them!

Something too much of Davis: if we have devoted rather an undue space to him, it is because of the great prominence given to his name in this collection, and the not undeserved influence exercised by him as a popular poet in Ireland.

Among the remaining ballads, one of the best, we think, is "Shaun's Head," by John Savage; the supposed address of an Ulster clansman to the head of Shaun O'Neill, which the faithful follower discovers at night upon the battlements of Dublin Castle. It is full of the passion which animates nearly all—even those otherwise least notable—of these poems; while it possesses a dramatic force and point not so often present in them. Though it is too long to be extracted, we may quote the second stanza as a specimen:—

Is it thus, O Shaun the haughty ! Shaun the valiant ! that we meet—
 Have my eyes been lit by Heaven but to guide me to defeat ?
 Have I no chief, or you no clan, to give us both defence ;
 Or must I, too, be statued here with thy cold eloquence ?
 Thy ghastly head grins scorn upon old Dublin's castle-tower ;
 Thy shaggy hair is wind-tossed, and thy brow seems rough with
 power ;
 Thy wrathful lips, like sentinels, by foulest treachery stung,
 Look rage upon the world of wrong, but chain thy fiery tongue.

Finally, we may quote two songs. Banim's "Soggarth Aroon" is well known, but is so full of true, homely peasant simplicity (though not destitute of warm Irish tenderness), so free from what Mr. William Morris once called his "cursed Celtic love for fine language,"* that it cannot be omitted.

SOGGARTH AROON (*Priest Dear*).

Am I the slave they say,
 Soggarth aroon ?
 Since you did show the way,
 Soggarth aroon,
Their slave no more to be,
 While they would work with me
 Old Ireland's slavery,
 Soggarth aroon.

Why not her poorest man,
 Soggarth aroon,
 Try and do all he can,
 Soggarth aroon,
 Her commands to fulfil
 Of his own heart and will.
 Side by side with you still,
 Soggarth aroon ?

Loyal and brave to you,
 Soggarth aroon,
 Yet be not slave to you,
 Soggarth aroon,
 Nor, out of fear to you,
 Stand up so near to you—
 Och ! out of fear to *you*,
 Soggarth aroon !

Who, in the winter's night,
 Soggarth aroon,
 When the cold blast did bite,
 Soggarth aroon,

* In an address delivered at Manchester.

Came to my cabin door,
And, on my earthen floor,
Knelt by me, sick and poor,
Soggarth aroon ?

Who, on the marriage-day,
Soggarth aroon,
Made the poor cabin gay,
Soggarth aroon ?
And did both laugh and sing,
Making our hearts to ring,
At the poor christening,
Soggarth aroon ?

Who, as friend only met,
Soggarth aroon,
Never did flout me yet,
Soggarth aroon ?
And when my heart was dim,
Gave, while his eye did brim,
What I should give to him,
Soggarth aroon ?

Och ! you, and only you,
Soggarth aroon !
And for this I was true to you,
Soggarth aroon ;
In love they'll never shake,
When for ould Ireland's sake,
We a true part did take,
Soggarth aroon !

The next is an even simpler and very quiet little song, by a well-known dramatic author—Dion Boucicault—the song of an Irish peasant woman in the backwoods of Ohio.

I'm very happy where I am,
Far across the say,
I'm very happy far from home,
In North Americay.

It's lonely in the night, when Pat
Is sleeping by my side,
I lie awake, and no one knows
The big tears that I've cried ;

For a little voice still calls me back
To my far, far counthrie ;
And nobody can hear it spake,
Oh ! nobody but me.

"Irish Minstrelsy."

There is a little spot of ground
Behind the chapel wall,
It's nothing but a tiny mound,
Without a stone at all ;

It rises like my heart just now,
It makes a dawning hill ;
It's from below the voice comes out,
I cannot kape it still.

Oh ! little Voice, ye call me back
To my far, far counthrie ;
And nobody can hear ye spake,
Oh ! nobody but me.

Banim's poem is an example of a poetic species unaccountably neglected (if we may judge from this collection) by modern Irish singers ; yet in which there surely sleep rare opportunities for breaking new ground. We mean poems interpreting the mind of the Irish peasant in his own picturesque brogue. Why has none ever attempted the rôle of an Irish Burns ? When it is reflected what jewels of original fancy, warm and tender, or bright and vivacious, are rough-set in the speech of the humble Irishman, it is almost heartrending to read the series of academical exercises after English models (few of them attaining a really high level) which form so large a portion of this book, and to which a few of those jewels would have given a distinct value. There is one such piece of academical prettiness in the collection, which at the close is lighted with a sudden scintillation by a genuine Irish fancy.

Young Pat feels his heart, as he gazes, depart,
Subdued by the smart of such painful, yet sweet love ;
The sight leaves his eye, as he cries with a sigh,
"Dance light, for my heart it lies under your feet, love !"

O si sic omnia ! Banim's lyric, no less than a line like this, indicates what a mine remains well-nigh unworked. And Banim's poem is thoroughly Irish : despite its simplicity, it has the true Celtic effusion, showing that the two qualities are not incompatible. It is otherwise in the case of the little song with which we have companioned it. That also is simple ; but it possesses in addition the un-Irish characteristic, almost essential to the deepest and tenderest pathos—the characteristic of restraint. This quality, valuable in all art, invaluable in pathos, this lurking power, the simple words conveying by some subtlest inexpressible magic those things which find no words—the tears in

the eyes which do not fall, the pang in the voice which cannot break in sobs, the dumb passion looking piteously out through the voiceful passion—this is here present, and is present in few Irish poems. It is not unattainable by an Irishman, for Goldsmith possessed it in perfection. But it is found chiefly among English and Scotch writers, and not amongst all of them. It differentiates the pathos of Dickens from the pathos of Thackeray, the lachrymose pathos in the death of "Little Nell," from the still, deep pathos which characterizes the finding of Colonel Newcome in the Charterhouse. Misery may be multitudinous in words; sadness may clothe herself with pomps of lamentation; despair may diadem herself with clamorous griefs, may lift her head to the clouds, may beat vain hands against the sky; but pathos, in her most touching utterance, is ever half-articulate.

Yet here the whispering demon whose mission it is to perplex all conclusions by the suggestion of an alternative aspect, breathes a chill, a doubt. Is the principle which we have enunciated indeed an eternal and immutable canon of art; or is it a narrow, partial view, founded on racial idiosyncrasy? As on the one hand it may be argued that pathetic restraint is rooted in the irreversible verities of Nature, where profound sorrow so infinitely transcends the potentialities of speech that language withers at the root; so, on the contrary, it may be considered a mere emanation from the invincible reticence of Teutonic character. To the perception of the more free-tongued Celt, what we account diffuse or artificial may appear the inevitable expression of feeling; what we account the essential expression of profoundest feeling may appear coldly inadequate. It is an interesting question in what we may christen comparative psychology; and a satisfactory answer might conduce to the serenity of criticism.

We need not linger long over the more or less traditional poems. One of the oldest is a Jacobite relic—"The Blackbird." It has much of that attractive quaintness which characterizes the Scotch Jacobite songs; but apart from this attraction—largely resident in the obsolete form—it does not seem to us of high poetical merit, and is in any case too long for quotation. Many of the others are well known as songs, and are indeed (if we may invent a verbal distinction for the nonce) excellent *songs*, but not *lyrics* of great mark. In other words, while really spirited verses, they lack the poetical infusion which makes a song of literary value. Take, for instance, the well-known "Rakes of Mallow," which is so well known as not to require quotation. Its spirit is undeniable; but where is that breath of poetic fancy which gives a distinct merit to the best bacchanalian lyrics—to those, for instance, of Horace? Nay, we need not go back to

lyrics so perfect in form as these. Take a mediæval effusion like the one ascribed to Walter de Mapes, beginning—

Mihi est propositum
In tabernâ mori;
Vinum sit appositum
Morientis ori;
Ut dicant quum venerint
Angelorum chori,
"Deus sit propitius
Huic potatori!"

and containing such lines as—

Cor imbutum nectare
Volat ad superna;

and such stanzas as the following one—

Mihi nunquam spiritus
Prophetiæ datur,
Nonnisi quum fuerit
Venter plene satur:
Quum in arce cerebri
Bacchus dominatur,
In me Phœbus irruit,
Ac miranda fatur!

The first four lines of which have been excellently paraphrased by a writer whom Leigh Hunt quotes:—

Mysterious and prophetic truths
I never could unfold 'em,
Without a glass of Burgundy
And a slice of cold ham.

Compare with this what is perhaps the cleverest of the convivial songs included in the present collection. We think the mediæval writer carries off the palm, although the traditional Irishman should be at his best in a convivial effusion. The production in question was written by Curran for those "Monks of the Screw" whom one of Lever's novels has rendered familiar to the English reader.

When St. Patrick this order established,
He called us the "Monks of the Screw!"
Good rules he revealed to our abbot
To guide us in what we should do.
But first he replenished our fountain
With liquor the best from on high;
And he said, on the word of a saint,
That the fountain should never run dry.

"Each year, when your octaves approach,
 In full chapter convened let me find you :
 And when to the convent you come,
 Leave your favourite temptation behind you.
 And be not a glass in your convent—
 Unless on a festival—found ;
 And, this rule to enforce, I ordain it
 One festival all the year round.

"My brethren, fall not—till you're tempted ;
 While sober, be grave and discreet ;
 And humble your bodies with fasting—
 As oft as you've nothing to eat.
 Yet in honour of fasting, one lean face
 Among you I'd always require ;
 If the abbot should please, he may wear it,
 If not, let it come to the friar."

Come, let each take his chalice, my brethren,
 And with due devotion prepare,
 With hands and with voices uplifted,
 Our hymn to conclude with a prayer.
 May this chapter oft joyously meet,
 And this gladsome libation renew,
 To the saint, and the founder, and abbot,
 And prior, and monks of the Screw !

Two daring spirits, and two only, have awakened their lyres in
 praise of the national beverage. Here is a strain from one
 effusion :—

Greek and Roman sung
 Chian and Falernian—
 Shall no harp be strung
 To thy praise, Hibernian ?

Yes, let Erin's sons—
 Generous, brave, and frisky—
 Tell the world at once
 They owe it to their whisky.

He commiserates Anacreon :

As the best then known,
 He to wine was civil ;
 Had he *Inishoven*,
 He'd pitch wine to the devil !

Over the street-songs, also, we shall not linger long. They
 have, doubtless, a peculiar and curious value of their own. They
 are the spontaneous, uncultivated revelation of the lower Irish
 mind ; the only such revelation which we possess, for a writer

in a comparatively recent number of *Macmillan's Magazine* declares that even the ballads of Davis are unknown among the peasantry. This is only what—under modern conditions of existence—we might expect. What constitutes the true expression of the low-class English urban mind?—Street broad-sides and the songs of the music-hall, by the perusal of which alone can the student estimate, in all its sad reality, the spirit of those dingy multitudes which throng our London pavements: not by the semi-literary productions of Mr. G. R. Sims and kindred writers, popular though they are amongst a half-cultivated section of our countrymen. From this point of view, it is a matter for congratulation that there is so little in Irish street-songs absolutely vulgar, so entire an absence of everything objectionable, so much which is veritably racy—indigenous to the soil. But how much *literary* value is there in "The Night before Larry was Stretched," or "Castle Hyde" (the original of that famous parody, "The Groves of Blarney")? We may quote, as a very favourable specimen of its class, a single stanza from the popular "Wearing of the Green":—

Then since the colour we must wear is England's cruel red,
Sure Ireland's sons will ne'er forget the blood that they have shed;
You may take the shamrock from your hat and cast it on the sod,
But 'twill take root and flourish there, though under foot 'tis trod.
When law can stop the blades of grass from growing as they grow,
And when the leaves in summer-time their verdure dare not show,
Then I will change the colour that I wear in my caubeen,
But till that day, please God, I'll stick to wearing of the green.

There is both feeling and fancy here; but it is the exception, not the rule.

Turn we to poems with regard to which no such objection can be taken. There are included in the "Minstrelsy" some compositions which—whatever may be their animating sentiment, in virtue of which they here find admission—are of too altogether literary and English a cast in their execution to be, in any sense, really popular. Amongst them is one by a name with which English readers used to be familiar—the now dead laureate of the Land League, Miss Fanny Parnell. It is somewhat lacking, we think, in art. The metre is unwieldy, centipede-like; nor is the execution of the highest kind. But it contains an unhackneyed idea, and that is a mercy to be thankful for in these latter days.

AFTER DEATH.

Shall mine eyes behold thy glory, O my country? Shall mine eyes
behold thy glory?
Or shall the darkness close around them, ere the sun-blaze break at
last upon thy story?

When the nations ope for thee their queenly circle, as a sweet new
sister hail thee,
Shall these lips be sealed in callous death and silence, that have known
but to bewail thee ?

Shall the ear be deaf that only loved thy praises, when all men their
tribute bring thee ?

Shall the mouth be clay that sang thee in thy squalor, when all poets'
mouths shall sing thee ?

Ah! the harping and the salvos, and the shoutings of thy exiled sons
returning!

I should hear, though dead and mouldered, and the grave-damps
should not chill my bosom's burning.

Ah! the tramp of feet victorious! I should hear them 'mid the
shamrocks and the mosses,

And my heart would toss within the shroud, and quiver as a captive
dreamer tosses.

I should turn and rend the cere-clothes round me, giant-sinews I
should borrow—

Crying, "O my brothers, I have also loved her in her loneliness and
sorrow.

"Let me join with you the jubilant procession; let me chant with
you her story;

Then contented I shall go back to the shamrocks, now mine eyes
have seen her glory!"

When we arrive at the name of Mr. Aubrey de Vere, criticism
becomes unnecessary, and the cessation of a popular element
marked. No one will imagine that Irish car-men sing "The
Wedding of the Clans," as they rattle their fares along the road.
There are three poems of his given, of which the longest—too
long for quotation—is the "Wedding of the Clans," excellent in
its dramatic simplicity.

I go to knit two clans together;

Our clan and this clan unseen of yore:

Our clan fears nought! but I go, oh, whither?

This day I go from my mother's door.

Thou red-breast singest the old song over,

Though many a time thou hast sung it before;

They never sent thee to some strange new lover:

I sing a new song, by my mother's door.

But let us give ourselves the pleasure of quoting a little lyric in
which feeling and execution are on a level. "The Little Black
Rose" is said to be one of the mystical names of Ireland, as is
also "The Silk of the Kine":

THE LITTLE BLACK ROSE.

The little black rose shall be red at last ;
 What made it black but the March wind dry,
 And the tear of the widow that fell on it fast ?
 It shall redden the hills when June is nigh !

The Silk of the Kine shall rest at last ;
 What drove her forth but the dragon-fly ?
 In the golden vale she shall feed full fast,
 With her mild gold horn and her slow, dark eye.

The wounded wood-dove lies dead at last !
 The pine long bleeding, it shall not die !
 This song is secret. Mine ear it passed
 In a wind o'er the plains at Athenry.

The compiler of the "Minstrelsy" has given place to two poems by Miss Rosa Mulholland, both of them taken from her volume of "Vagrant Verses," which we have named at the head of this article, and we cannot do better than quote one of them, the graceful little "Shamrock":—

I wear a shamrock in my heart,
 Three in one, one in three—
 Truth and love and faith,
 Tears and pain and death :
 O sweet my shamrock is to me !

Lay me in my hollow bed,
 Grow the shamrocks over me.
 Three in one, one in three,
 Faith and hope and charity,
 Peace and rest and silence be
 With me where you lay my head :
 O dear the shamrocks are to me !

These verses excellently represent the prevalent note of Miss Mulholland's poetry. Her muse could hardly be better described than in the well-known words of Milton ; it is indeed a

Pensive nun, devout and pure,
 Sober, steadfast, and demure.

Or her poetry might be characterized in a verse of her own :—

Gray and chill, yet safe and sure,
 Fringed with snowdrops pale and pure
 Underneath a sky that grieves
 O'er barren boughs and fallen leaves.

A tender simplicity of subdued tincture, a pensiveness often

religious mark her work. No reader who can appreciate thoughtfulness and quiet charm will read "Vagrant Verses" without pleasure. The verses we have quoted illustrate, as we have said, her general mood, but there is one poem, not quoted in the "Minstrelsy," which shows all her best qualities at their highest, combined with a closeness of imaginative realization and a felicity of diction less conspicuous elsewhere. We may exemplify this by a few stanzas from the poem in question, "Saint Barbara" (the saint, as the reader may remember, who was enclosed in a tower).

Girl, they have cut from 'neath thy dancing feet
Earth with her rose and lily,
Her violet and her light-winged daffodily—
Stole from thine ear the sound of children singing;
The low of kine and pleasant sheep-bells ringing
Are silent to thee, sweet!

No tender human fingers touch thine own;
The cold winds round thy bed
Caress thy motherless young golden head.
The silence widens not when thou art sleeping,
Save by the absence of thy hopeless weeping,
Echoed by walls of stone.

Yet thou hast company the clouds among,
The birds' loud songs surround thee,
The legions of the storm whirl round and round thee;
The tranquil saints from their eternal places
Look out and show thee their enraptured faces—
The stars shine clear and long.

To such high company thy soul doth leap,
The lark's wild hymn repeating,
Flinging the tempest thine impassioned greeting,
Watching the stars until thine eyes become
A fire amidst them in the midnight gloom,
No longer doomed to weep.

To pass from Miss Mulholland's verse to Miss Tynan's is as if we passed from a sober evening heath to the sunrise which beats its sanguined wings like a flamingo across a southern water. The compiler of the "Minstrelsy" quotes her "Shamrock Song," a finished and artistic work, and we shall be excused, in the case of a living writer of such ability and even further promise, for naming two of her volumes at the head of our article, and now illustrating our remarks by some quotations from them at greater length.

It was long a conviction in the mind of the average English Protestant that Catholicity exerted a stunting influence on

literary development, a belief which the educational disabilities incidental to English Catholicity for some time tended to confirm. The idea in the Protestant mind was something after this fashion—that from Martin Luther came the Reformation, from the Reformation came those twin gifts of Heaven, Good Queen Bess and William Shakespeare, from Good Queen Bess came our greatness, and from William Shakespeare came our literature. Q.E.D. The present century has dispelled the illusion in regard to general literature, and the present generation has done something to dispel it in regard to poetry. It would be unfortunate were it otherwise. With perhaps one exception, the poets of to-day lie under a general reproach—the lack of sustained power. Living poetry is too like a dwarf tree, such as those of which China and Japan monopolize the secret, perfect in form and proportion, but so diminutive that it might be used for a table ornament, a forest giant in miniature. The age prefers short poems, and it gets them. But within these limits the present day is singularly fertile in highly finished and often very subtle poetry. It is very fit that Catholicity should contribute its share to this luxuriant poetical garden, and in the ranks of Catholic poets Miss Tynan is the latest recruit, and a recruit of high promise.

The first impression which her poetry makes on the reader is that of buoyant youthful impulse, lavish prodigality of colour, and true lyrical melody. It is, indeed, strikingly youthful, not merely in tone but in quality, so that in time riper and completer work may be justly anticipated from a poet who, while not destitute of performance, is still more distinguished by her abundant evidence of promise. This youthful quality is at once a main source of much of her defect and at the same time a piquant attraction. While a little less copious measure, a little of that selecting faculty which will doubtless come with practice, would often strengthen her verse without diminishing the unlaboured fervour, nevertheless its generous spontaneity imparts to it a charmingly true lyric element. The wealth of colour above mentioned is everywhere visible throughout her work. It is true painter's work. Many of her lines and stanzas flash before the eye like humming-birds, though, unlike the humming-bird, they combine music with colour. We may take examples at random. Here is one from the "*Angel of the Annunciation*":—

Down through the village street,
Where the slanting sunlight was sweet,
Swiftly the angel came ;
His face like the star of even,
When night is grey in the heaven ;
His hair was a blown gold flame.

His wings were purple of bloom,
And eyed as the peacock's plume;
They trailed and flamed in the air:
Clear brows with an aureole rimmed,
The gold ring brightened and dimmed,
Now rose, now fell on his hair.

Oh, the marvellous eyes!
All strange with a rapt surprise
They mused and dreamed as he went;
The great lids, drooping and white,
Screened the glory from sight;
His lips were most innocent.

His clear hands, shining withal,
Bore lilies, silver and tall,
That had grown in the pleasure of God;
His robe was fashioned and spun
Of threads from the heart of the sun;
His feet with white fire were shod.

* * * * *

All in the stillness and heat
The angel passed through the street,
Nor pausing nor looking behind:
God's finger-touch on his lips;
His great wings fire at the tips;
His gold hair flamed in the wind.

One thing is noticeable about Miss Tynan's colour-pictures. They are all thoroughly realizable. Did the reader ever try to realize within himself that gorgeous description of the snake in "Lamia?" We have; and the result is a thorough conviction that (quite apart from the material limitation of his pigments) no painter could put on canvas the description as it stands in the text. There is not room on a serpent's back for all the confusion of hues and devices which Keats has poured out till he must have exhausted his fancy and vocabulary. It is chaotic. The mind cannot resolve it into a coherent vision. But Miss Tynan's dreams could be transferred directly to canvas. Setting colour aside, indeed, her conceptions have often a noticeable pictorial quality. They read almost like the poetical description of a picture, a characteristic due, perhaps, in some degree to the diffusion of artistic taste among the cultivated classes which has certainly taken place in the present time.

As an instance of this pictorial quality let us extract the first two stanzas of "The Dead Spring":—

Like Elaine, with small dead hands
On her resting heart,
Cowslip hair in silken bands,
Dreaming lips apart,

Lieth Spring ; in her wan face
 Only wild white-rose hath place ;
 Eyes of dewy violet,
 'Neath their snowdrop lids, forget ;
 Stilled is her sweet hawthorn breath,
 And her kiss is cold in death ;
 She hath spilled her life-blood sweet
 At her cruel lover's feet.

Ah ! the morning when he came
 Down the golden skies,
 Flushed her flower-face, all aflame
 For his passionate eyes ;
 But he turned, nor saw her there ;
 For the Summer, brown and fair,
 Stood, with eyes of misty grey,
 Cheeks like dawning of the day,
 Lips like poppies wet with dew,
 Sheeny hair of rust-gold hue—
 Went to her, with arms outspread,
 And the gentle Spring lay dead.

The "poppies wet with dew" is a refreshing change from the eternal rose-buds which the reader has grown haplessly to acquiesce in whenever a poet has occasion to describe lips.

Nor is her sketching of nature inferior. Here is a dreary scene (from the "Story of Aibrich") very faithfully rendered, with touches of genuine weirdness :—

The stag had vanished ;—a long gold gleam in the west
 The grey pools mirrored all chill,
 And the shrieking water-fowl flew up from the nest,
 The wind in the reeds sobbed shrill.

Dreary, dreary seemed the place and strange,
 The moon was barred with the drifts,
 And great cloud-mountains rose stormily, range after range,
 And broke into rifts ;
 An eagle sailed overhead with a flapping wing
 And a wild long cry.
 I stayed my horse, and I mused with much questioning
 In what strange country was I.

The hounds looked up in my face and shivered with dread,
 Then cowered and were still ;
 Only the moon's wild face, like the face of the dead,
 Looked up from each marsh-pool chill ;
 And the reeds and the rushes shook, and the wind wailed by,
 The flat land stretched on each side,
 Down to the grey, sad line of the boding sky,
 The gold gleam flickered and died.

With all the plentiful promise, however, of which these few extracts give but a faint idea, and with a vein of sincere tenderness which she possesses, Miss Tynan has as yet written only two or three poems which we regard as complete performances. The two that we would specially note are "Poppies" and "The Dreamers." These are truly fine lyrics, of full achievement in themselves; and represent the excellence which the bulk of her verse ought ultimately to attain. Were we a poet, and had produced "Poppies" and "The Dreamers," we would never rest until we had written our general verse up to the same level, and had written a few poems to surpass them. "The Dreamers" is too long to extract, but we must quote a few stanzas from the first and finer portion:—

Lieth outside in the perfect night,
The land at rest,
In the stainless snow of the May moon's light;
And the bird i' the nest
And the hawthorn sleep in a world of white.

* * * * *
O dreamer! turn from thy grieving now,
Hark! in the hush
A small wind ruffles with fingers slow
The grasses long and lush,
And O the choir in the elm-tree bough!

The brown bright shapes that swaying sit
I' the heart of shade,
Their throats are amber and chrysolite.
Frail each body was made,
But the gold voice poured into it.

* * * * *
My tardy dreamer wakes to behold
A pageant wide,
Rose-hued banners waved fold on fold,
The sun and his good knights ride
Up the eastern Field of the Cloth of Gold!

The lines which we have italicized are in the very vein of the old Elizabethan poets.

The faults of Miss Tynan's poetry have been, perhaps, sufficiently indicated by implication in the remarks already made. We may add that she adopts enthusiastically the diction of Rossetti and his school. She must be on her guard against carrying it to an excess which might interfere with individuality. Such is not the case at present, but it is a diction easily abused, and she does not, even now, always escape its snares. We may

suggest, too, that she should not rhyme "winter" and "stir." In spite of Rossetti's example, it is certainly an affectation.

Turning back from Miss Tynan to the volume with which we started, and the gathering of writers from whose works it is selected, we would like, in conclusion, to correct a possible misapprehension. We are not insensible to the difficulties, militating against literary perfection, under which many of the poets included in this volume wrote, and under which Irish poetry has grown up : still less are we insensible to the burning love of country which all these poems display, and before which we can only bow in respect. But a volume put forth in the fashion of this volume, by an English publisher, appeals to the English public solely on its literary merits ; and from such a point of view we have judged it. It would be a poor compliment to test an Irish poet by a standard other than that which we apply to our own countrymen.

One other misapprehension we would guard against. We have spoken somewhat contemptuously of "fine language." Let no one suppose from this that we have any antipathy to literary splendour in itself, apart from the subject on which it is exercised. Quite the contrary. To write plainly on a fine subject is to set a jewel in wood. Did our givers of literary advice only realize this, we should hear less of the preposterous maxim, "Aim always at writing simply." Conceive merely Raleigh, Sir Thomas Browne, Jeremy Taylor, Milton, and De Quincey rendered into "simple English." Their only fit place would be the fire ! The true abuse of "fine language" is rich diction applied to a plain subject, or lofty words to weak ideas : like most devices in writing, this one also is excellent when employed as a means, evil when sought as an end.

FRANCIS THOMPSON.

ART. III.—AN APOSTLE OF NIRVANA:

H. F. AMIEL.

IT is not often that a name has been added to European literature in a single day, and on the appearance of a work which could have no successor. Yet this, or something not unlike it, has been the strange fortune of Henri Frédéric Amiel. Living and teaching at Geneva for over thirty years, he was known indeed to such men as M. Naville, M. Cherbuliez, M. Edmond Scherer, whose reputation might have excited his envy, and whose influence would have opened for him a pathway to success had he chosen it. To the ordinary observer he seemed a dry and formal pedant. He encouraged no intimacies, took no conspicuous part in society around him, and never married. He put into print an occasional essay, of which the finished form did not make atonement for the lack of substance; it was but elegant trifling. Trifling, too, seemed the minute care which he bestowed on his renderings, line for line, and word for word, from Schiller and Goethe. His book of poems—"Grain de Mil," and "Penseroso"—had a touch of the over-daintiness which in Théophile Gautier's "Emaux et Camées," as in Théodore de Banville's crystalline verses, may be redeemed by the light of genius which shines through them. But Amiel's genius was hardly proved by these feats of verse-making. His friends were disappointed, and told him so. He was born, said Edmond Scherer, for higher things. Apparently he never achieved them. He died and made no sign. Then his "Journal Intime" was found; and Amiel ascended, as by one stroke of his wings, into that "Heaven of invention" where he is destined perhaps to a place with the immortals, among his brethren of an austere and perplexing school: Obermann, René, Leopardi—and must we not include Pascal?—who, for ever apart and for ever akin to each other, sit brooding, with terror-haunted thoughts, upon the—

—towers of dread foundation laid
Under the grave of things.

Amiel, like those to whom I have compared him, is a type of disease. He may be described almost in the words which George Sand applies to Obermann: "Mystérieux, rêveur, incertain, tristement railleur, peureux par irrésolution, amer par vertu, il a peut-être une parentée éloignée avec Hamlet, ce type embrouillé mais profond de la faiblesse humaine, si complet dans son avortement, si logique dans son inconséquence." The malady which

he has depicted in himself deserves our closest study, for it has infected the time. As some have risked their lives in physical experiments for the attainment of fresh knowledge, so Amiel, and innumerable others, have made ventures in the realm of spirit; and his record of forty years' meditations holds the quintessence of what is known as modern thought, dissolving it neither into a metaphysics unacquainted with life, nor into a criticism exultant over the ruin it has made. Its author united the sharpest logic with a tender religious enthusiasm. He cared for science, politics, letters, music. He felt, and has vividly rendered, all the influences of that majestic Alpine scenery which lay so near him. Though he walked the streets of Geneva like a ghost, there was no mood of thought or feeling beyond his interpretation. He could be utterly objective, and "see with the eyes of every one," nor is it too much to assert that he saw with all the eyes of the nineteenth century. In spirit he could be and do everything. Yet in fact he did nothing. What is the explanation of so strange an enigma? It is this, I think: Amiel had the maximum of culture with the minimum of character. He was wanting in power of will, and therefore in that faith which cannot exist unless it be strongly willed. His defects were those of the age; and herein, as I conceive, lies an argument for that Christian view of the nature and duty of religious belief which the age is casting out. No one, so far as I know, has dwelt upon it; and, though Amiel's text has found a crowd of readers, and he himself has figured in romance, there is yet room for a commentary which shall indicate its drift or its moral.

His life is easily told. He was born at Geneva in 1821; spent an unhappy childhood; travelled between his twentieth and twenty-third year through France and Italy; and passed the next five years at Heidelberg and Berlin, studying metaphysics and making acquaintance with men of renown, poets, artists, historians, and the celebrities of science. In his *Journal* of March 26, 1851, he sets down the famous men, now dead, whom he had known. Among them were Steffens, the Norse disciple of Schelling; Marheineke, the Hegelian; the devout Neander, Oersted, Oehlen-schlager, Thorwaldsen, and Mendelssohn—a goodly fellowship. He made no mark in their company, but the days at Berlin were the happiest of his life. They succeeded to a melancholy youth, and their charm grew in the retrospect as one by one the promises of riper years turned to dust and ashes. By-and-by he writes that during his course of philosophy he had been living "the eternal life," which for him was full of contemplative moods, self-contained passion, and "the unspeakable tenderness of a love without stint or measure." They were the golden days of the novice, radiant and free, a little tinged with the sentimentalism

which is apt to flush a young philosopher's musings. What Amiel gained from them his *Journal*, which would never have been written had he not studied at Berlin, will enable us to judge more fairly than M. Scherer's rather severe criticism of the "peculiarities of style," which his friend brought home with him. On these delicate matters it would not become a foreigner to pronounce; but there can be no doubt, as M. Scherer testifies, that Amiel has grave and eloquent pages, equal to some of the sublimest in his native tongue. He rises above René. I am not sure that he yields to Pascal.

M. Scherer met him first at Geneva in 1849, on his return from the philosophic pilgrimage in the course of which he had been changed, from a Calvinist, into a mystic and disciple of Schleiermacher. He had acquired an infinity of learning, but his conversation was lively and unaffected, his appearance engaging, and his whole manner brilliant. A few months afterwards he won the Chair of Esthetics in the University. But the appointment lay in the hands of the Radicals, who, in 1846, had overthrown the bourgeoisie; and Amiel, without fault of his own, was condemned to social ostracism. He resented the isolation keenly, and all the more that his affinities were never democratic. Nature had given him the temperament of genius, while he was thrown into a world where genius, as he often repeats, could never feel at home. Geneva had nothing in common with Berlin and Heidelberg. Its religion and politics were its own, but how could Amiel take pleasure in them? From this uncomfortable sense of estrangement he never became free. In 1854 he exchanged into the chair of Philosophy, and again he failed with his students as he had failed in society. He was too subtle, too much enamoured of the wide and vast "rapprochements" of ideas into which he had been initiated by the Hegelians. He might have taught better had he reflected less. M. Charles Dollfuss made an opening for him in the *Revue Germanique*. But his efforts were abortive. Amiel, haunted by the shadow of perfection, would write only the best, and believed that the best was not in his power. It was the same with all other things offered to this strange self-tormentor. Terrified with "the fatality of consequences," he committed himself as little as possible. Life, he deemed, was an old Greek tragedy, and the past an irresistible Fate. His friends did not know what to make of him.

In fact, he was stricken with scepticism. Like Luther, like Schleiermacher, he had for a time believed in the "Jesus of the Fourth Gospel." But Hegel taught him to consider "the metamorphosis of mind;" Christianity itself appeared to be a process of evolution, or "becoming," and we read in the "Journal" that the Church's duty is "to undergo from age to age a fresh change,

and to be ever spiritualizing its conception of Christ and of salvation." Amiel had thus quitted the firm ground of dogma and set out on a voyage of discovery. It may be questioned whether he reached a new continent ; but he voyaged all his life. Another Hegelian lesson which he laid to heart was that things can be known only in connection, that nothing stands by itself, that thought is, like the myriad lives which shadow it forth in phenomena, an organism, and that unless we have seized "the totality" our labour is in vain. That passion for the One, everlasting and unchangeable, which always returns when science has carried men dispersedly into all provinces of research, and when division of labour means confusion of thought, had taken overmastering hold of him ; in his solitary life, plunged in reflection, he was drawn towards the *Henosis* of Plotinus, the All and One, of which he dreamed that he was only a portion.

But his dream took an astonishing shape. The thought of Unity he called his opium, his haschisch ; it intoxicated him like a magic philtre. With Baudelaire he might have entered through its charm into one of those "artificial paradises" which fascinate while they destroy what is wholesome and pure. Amiel, however, went his own way, and a very strange way it was—hardly to be understood as we read of it in his surely unparalleled description. As we say of Shakespeare that he identifies himself with each of his characters and is lost in them, as of Wordsworth it may be truly asserted that his verses are steeped in the feeling of the landscape which they conjure up by an instantaneous power—so Amiel declares that he possessed a faculty akin to these, but descending—if I may so express his meaning—a stage below Wordsworth, and not found in Shakespeare, unless perchance in "The Tempest" and "A Midsummer Night's Dream." He can "think himself down" to any degree of the impersonal, the unconscious, and the subter-conscious. He knows the secret which has created Fairyland. He has entered into the dim life of the lower existences, and can put off in waking hours the human self, with its attributes. His thought is Protean ; it assumes every form. To quote his strange words on a subject as strange, Amiel's disposition was essentially—the sentence runs thus in French—"métamorphosable, polarisable, et virtuelle." His was a fleeting, subtle spirit, to be fixed by no chemistry, issuing free from every combination into which it was drawn, and quick to feel with every influence. These curious—nay, uncanny—phrases occur again and again in the "Journal Intime." A physician would pronounce their writer morbid ; and it is certain that, were madness endowed with analytic powers, it would thus portray its own disordered imaginings. An intellect which could abdicate consciousness at will, and

remain so long *under water*, ran the risk of asphyxiation. Amiel would perhaps have maintained that he was only more attentive than other men to streams of imagery which are present always, but which glide along by the side of the main current, and are unobserved in the hurry of every day. Consciousness is knitted of many strands; we dream at all times, even whilst we are absorbed in thought. The philosopher and the saint equally believe that there is a Divine life *in* the universe, though not necessarily of it. Peculiar to Amiel it is that he should have been able to descend step by step into the abyss, sinking a shaft, as it were, into pre-historic and pre-conscious strata of existence unexplored as yet by psychology. Let him be supposed to have lain under a delusion, and to have dreamt that he so dreamed; but even of this will a comprehensive science take note. Introspection, like magnetism, has its prodigies, and these are of them.

Out of conceit, then, with himself and his surroundings, resigning the "province of earthly life," and as devoid of self-will as the most ascetic Hindu, Amiel passed through all the ways of that pilgrimage so often described, which, beginning with spiritual recollection, ascends to rapturous heights, and ends too commonly in despair and madness. To "put off one's personality" is at first delightful; then it becomes a habit, and reverie succeeds to thought as the long Polar night succeeds to the brief hours of sunshine in the Arctic regions. By and by the faculties are absorbed as in a dream. But the dream turns to a nightmare; Nature will have her revenge; and he that dared to lift the veil of Isis, with its thousand agreeable illusions, discovers behind it—nothing. What is the life of man? Amiel replies: "Un néant qui s'ignore, et aussitôt que ce néant se connaît, la vie individuelle est abolie en principe. Sitôt l'illusion évanouie, le néant reprend son regne éternel." In the language of Hegel and, strangely enough, of Schopenhauer, Amiel concludes that the Absolute must needs be the zero of all determination; the only manner of Being that is proper to it is Not to Be. Thought is doomed to dissolve into the Unchangeable Rest, which is the true and lasting state of infinite Nothingness. Like Gautama, he has beheld the Great Wheel of universal illusion, on which all things turn. Perfect knowledge is not, in this philosophy, a Vision Beatific; it is "the intuition of the mighty Death." In naming it so, Amiel spoke what he knew. Whether the spirit was good or evil which led him upwards and downwards on the ladder of Being, and gave him a glimpse of the unending metamorphoses wherein, like Goethe, he had such joy, the certain effect—we must not shrink from saying it—was moral suicide, slow as it was sure, and exquisitely painful. To this man, the Buddhism, at which fashionable persons delight to play, was so

real that it killed him. As the motives for action were withdrawn, action itself ceased ; and, with a prisoner's or an invalid's busy idleness, he could listen to each throb of his tortured heart and count its lessening beats. There is an extraordinary likeness between his expressions on this subject and those with which Edgar Poe begins his horrible fiction of "Berenice." It seemed to this victim of Pessimism that "the centre of his indifference" was "a tacit protest against the order of things." He could not trust God or Nature. In spite of rare qualities, knowledge given to one in a thousand, and an affectionate disposition, he lay enchanted in his own misery, and must have raged against the Highest, had not Christianity come to his relief.

For these volumes exhibit a drama of thought, where opposite forces are striving, and the victory remains in suspense to the end. They are a specimen of that literature which, again to quote George Sand, "se prépare et s'avance à grands pas, idéale, intérieure, ne relevant que de la conscience humaine, n'empruntant au monde des sens que la forme et le vêtement de ses inspirations." Amiel, brought up according to the strictest sect of his religion, a Calvinist, and thrown into the furnace seven times heated of German criticism, lived his life among the new philosophies, systems of history, and revised Christianities, in which all agreed that Church and dogma were tottering to destruction. His keen spiritual sagacity led him to the heart of the problem. A striking passage, dated April 7, 1851, insists upon that distinction "between Socrates and Jesus," which, appearing as the antithesis of Hellenism and Hebraism in the pages of Heine, has become celebrated in English literature. Speaking of the Neo-Hegelians, Ruge and Kuno Fischer, the writer points out that while they aim at enlightenment, they possess no secret whereby to cleanse or sanctify the soul. Their religion, founded on pure thought, begins and ends in metaphysics. But Christianity speaks to the heart : it preaches redemption, nor can be satisfied with mere enlightenment. And Amiel declares that the head and front of the controversy is the reality of sin. "What is it that brings salvation ?" he defines as the question of humanity. "How can man be made truly man ? Is the deepest root of his being responsibility ?" If science, he goes on to argue, cannot give us love, it proves itself inadequate. But love is the very thing it cannot give. We need a love founded on our moral nature, which shall make the centre of the individual one with the centre of all Being, and science offers nothing but the cold *Amor intellectualis* of Spinoza. Moral energy is our very life ; and saints and heroes are wanted more than metaphysicians, to create by their example those habits which can never be produced by abstract reasoning.

One who could state the question with such admirable lucidity was in no danger of supposing, as many do, that science alone, whether physical or metaphysical, is about to renew the face of the earth. Writing at Lancy, on a lovely spring morning in 1852, he exclaims :—

How are all things transfigured at a moment like this! The world is but an allegory; the ideal is more real than any fact; fairy tales and legends are as true as natural history—nay, truer, for as emblems they are more transparent. The only substance is the soul. What are all other things?—shadow, pretence, figure, symbol, and dream; conscience alone is immortal, objective, utterly real; the world but a piece of fireworks, a sublime panorama intended to delight and educate the soul. Conscience is a universe of which the sun is love.

Mindful of Schelling, he argues that nature must become spirit, and spirit aim at incarnating itself again in visible forms. But he would take a different way from mere physical science, mere democratic liberty, and what may be termed the modern French or American road to an imagined future. In us the divine life is a succession of deaths; man is the true Ulysses, travelling through scenes innumerable, and becoming at every stage initiated into higher mysteries. God is the Father of spirits. Hence the attempt to deal with mankind in masses, and as if they were but a vast machine, instead of appealing to faith and loyalty in the individual, is imperilling the very nobleness of our kind, for it implies the subordination of conscience to interest. "There are two ways of taking democracy," and one of them, now wide-spread, involves a base mechanical despotism. It is criminal, for it does violence to the conscience itself. These reflections are at the opposite pole to "modern thought," as understood in the camp of the Materialists. But Amiel never played false to them. While he felt that it is not good for man to be alone; that in Aristotle's phrase, he is a social animal, and that we round our existence by laying stress on the qualities and striving after the perfections in which we know ourselves to be wanting, he never looked on the many as do certain democrats, to whom they are but cyphers, and the constitutional machinery that which gives them a value. This profound thinker, who moved "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife," had no faith in nostrums. He shared in the Christian's insight too largely not to perceive that the evil of the world goes down below the reach of governments and majorities. As he brushed aside the Materialism which glories in resting on science (whereas its only foundation is the hardihood of dogmatists) in like manner he turned from the hustings and ballot-box of

Geneva to lay hold, if he might, upon the perfect life. It cannot, he said, be attained by seeking after happiness. Its law is sacrifice, but sacrifice may become a joy. Will any Materialism account for that? "Man," he affirms in a sentence which we might ascribe to Faust, "is the great deep. Heaven and hell, the universe itself, are within us." The vision of sin, the passions and fierce longings of our nature, filled him with that aboriginal dread out of which the mythologies and theogonies of old times have issued. How, he exclaims, can we escape from shipwreck in the mighty waters, except we have faith in a merciful and loving Father, whose ray divine lights up the conscience and assures our freedom?

All this reads so like Christianity that we need not dwell upon its variation from the traditional type. It did not, however, restore Amiel to a better state, when, like René, he had conceived, "*par rêverie oisive*," a distaste for existence. Turn his eyes where he might from the *Via Dolorosa*, his steps were always pursuing it. He had doubted and he had sinned. But still, "to die to sin, that astonishing word of the Christian message, remains the grandest solution of the mystery of the inward life." So too, he could read the Gospel, and his sorrow would be taken away—to return, like clouds after the rain.

How appalling [he writes] is the inexorable progress which swallows up individual being and cuts short our remembrance! To be born, to be in trouble for a while, and then to disappear, is the sum of that momentary drama which we call life. If there be nothing immortal within us, how slight a thing is man! And he forgets even more than he is forgotten.

Then Amiel yields again to the enervating pleasure of the Buddhist and the Sūfi, though conscience declares it something lower by much than "the joy of energy, the sweetness of love, the beauty of enthusiasm, the holy delight of duty accomplished." Instructive and saddening words are these! More and more he came to abide in Kedar, which, being interpreted, is darkness. "*Après m'être distrait*," he says, with an allusion to the Second Part of "*Faust*," "*étourdi, noyé, dans les caprices des existences fugitives, sans réussir à m'enivrer ni à m'aveugler, je retrouve l'abîme insondable, le gouffre morne et silencieux où résident les Mères*." At the beginning of 1867 he breaks forth, "Melancholy, languor, lassitude! The thirst after the long sleep grows upon me, and is withstood only by the felt need of a sustained heroic sacrifice." No easy task, he continues, when the happiest among men is but a *Weltmüde*, who puts on a good face before the world, and endeavours vainly to forget his secret thought—"thought sad as the grave, of things irreparable." Amiel lays

his finger on the wound: "Our desire for the Infinite is not satisfied. God is absent."

In his younger days he believed in Providence; now that faith is lost. "Thou hast it not," so runs his rebuke; "the things that are seem to thee fortuitous, as though they might be or might not. Nothing in thy state seems providential." He possessed the fatal gift of turning the old beliefs against the new, and the new against the old. Again and again he inquires whether history be not all chance, and so-called laws of nature "imaginings of our reason, so constructed as to delude itself with a supposed order and a logic not really extant in things." His thought "swings backwards and forwards between general views which contradict one other." But thus to obey "all the instincts of human nature" was to obey none of them; they cancelled their several effects, and the result in action was zero. A fragment, in which we read of Amiel's marked tendency to clairvoyance and somnambulism (by no means surprising in such a man), tells us that a lady among his friends described him as "superlatively feminine with regard to impressions." As were his outward senses, so was his mind. He could not go forward in any path but he heard voices calling him back. The power of "universal sympathy" may be fascinating; it is certainly dangerous; for what is it too often but scepticism "touched with emotion?" Amiel contrasts "freedom and sanctity" as opposite ideals. He would have done better to distinguish between good and evil, warned by his own dictum that freedom implies a standard which is the essential Right, and which we are called upon to live by. He had no standard, and he could not truly be said to live.

And so he reaches his forty-seventh year, and has not found "the only viaticum of life"—a great task and a circle of serious friendships. He has sunk below even Buddhism, into utter weariness. "The hope of a blessed immortality," he writes, with gentle mockery of himself, "would be something better." One thing strikes him with astonishment, the conspiracy of all men "to hide this world's sadness." Then he casts his eyes on "the Saints of the East and of classic times and Christianity;" they have known the anguish of the spirit even as he, but have come forth conquerors. His thoughts carry him to the specific element of the New Testament as of the Church, faith in the union of God and man in Jesus. This he rightly calls the Everlasting Gospel. At Mornex, on Easter Day, he listens to the bells in the valley beneath him, and, true artist and human spirit as he is, cannot help whispering, "Man must have a religion; is not the Christian the best, after all? The religion of sin, repentance, and reconciliation, of the new birth and the life everlasting?" Why did he not cleave to it then? Because he detested "to be imprisoned in an

arbitrary form, though it were of his own choosing." A little later he says finely: "The Christian prayer runs 'Deliver us from evil;' the Buddhist, 'Deliver us from existence.'" In his melancholy pious way he subjoins: "What does it signify whether immortality be true or nothingness be true? Whatever is to be, will be right. Still, we must join with Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Zeno against the religion of Chance and of the Pessimists. . . . Help to the victory of the Good! That is the common device of saints and sages. Science re-echoes the word which Cleanthes spoke, 'Socii Dei sumus.'"

M. Vacherot's book, "*La Religion*," leads him to ask again whether, as Materialists believe, religion be a mere survival from lower stages of development. Were it such, it would be doomed. "If God be no more than the category of the Ideal, religion will pass like the dreams of youth." But how, if it were a faculty parallel to that of intellect? Would it not last while feeling lasted? He defines it as "living in God, and face to face with God." It is, then, a part of our nature. While the orthodox Calvinists and "Liberal Christians" were struggling hand to hand around him, he wrote: "Neither science nor literature has the empire of the soul; in religion sanctity alone can rule." The defect of Liberal Protestants is that they deal lightly with sin. When their righteousness abounds more than that of the Churches, they will satisfy the Master's condition, but not till then. However, he continues, the Protestantism of history has no longer a justification; it was a provisional stage bound up with the notion of an inspired book and a written revelation. "Once that assumption is decided to be fictitious, Protestantism will melt away. It will be forced to retreat upon conscience and natural religion. MM. Réville, Coquerel, Fontanès, and Buisson accept the consequence. They are the vanguard of Protestantism, but the laggards of free thought." A shrewd conclusion, and a memorable phrase! There are "laggards of free thought" outside Geneva.

"But the Church," Amiel goes on, "exists by reason of her positive teaching." Conscience must, in a sense, judge of dogma, but it does not follow that conscience, unaided by revelation, could discover dogma. No Church will ever be set up on criticism, whether it be the somewhat dull and bourgeois criticism which has flourished at Geneva, or the "dilettantism made perfect of the Renaissance," ascribed in a subsequent passage to M. Renan. As for Amiel, he was neither dilettante nor bourgeois. Scepticism, though the outcome, did not appear to him the scope of his inquiries. Had not Jacobi, too, "a Christian heart with a Pagan head?" He thought himself "a simple nature, a saddened sincere artist who believed in the ideal, in love, in sanctity, in all the angelic superstitions." His being yearned for Paradise

and life eternal. "A whole millennium of idylls" lay slumbering in his heart. And the cause why he could not be a mocker indeed, was that, with the vehemence of a St. Paul, he denounced to himself "the instinct we have within us of revolt," which is "an enemy to law, bending under no yoke, rebellious to reason, wisdom, and duty." It is the *radicale Böse* which Kant has dwelt upon. "Sin," repeats Amiel, "is in our very marrow; it flows on like the blood in our veins; it mingles in our substance." We recognize Calvin in the sound of these strong speeches. Is there not a resemblance also between this "instinct of denial" and the "passion for inward liberty," which Amiel thought his sole or chief indulgence? The remedy for sin is not freedom from a standard; it is crucifixion, and he knew it well. "Mankind," he writes on Good Friday, "still believe in the Cross, which has been the Church's banner, and will be her salvation." The world, "living by faith and growing by science," will never learn to dispense with Calvary; and civilization "threatened by doubters, phenomenists, and materialists" will be saved, if at all, by religious men, to whom their conscience is more than a universe.

Excellent sayings, if they did not end in a Quietism which declined even to do good, as Materialism held that there was no good to be done! Whether gazing with large and fixed eyes upon the Alps of Valais, or scanning the latest science with his friends, Brown and Karl Ritter, Amiel is always afraid lest Nature should be "a fleeting, indifferent illusion." Is there in Heaven a spectator of the scene, and what is He—Brahma the unconscious, or the living God? "Ah!" he exclaims, "the Infinite of which Maya seems the veil, is but an empty abyss; life is an unseen agony, and every man the infinitesimal of Nothing." Our aim, then, must be to despoil ourselves of existence. Is not that very process invading society, breaking down ranks, abolishing the graceful courtesies of life, giving us formulas for exquisite forms, realism for poetry, and philosophy for romance? He was thinking of Balzac, Stendhal, Taine, Zola, and the Second Empire. He likened our moral atmosphere to the choke-damp of a mine. Even in Goethe he detected a secret dryness. But more than literature was at stake. "Numbers," said Amiel, "are not wisdom," and the nations stand on the edge of a tremendous catastrophe. He feared for the small peoples, like his own. Cosmopolitans—the Communists of 1871—have "neither country, nor ancient memories, nor property, nor religion." "The orgies of philosophic thought" (to which he had so fatal a propension himself) do, in fact, affirm existence to be an error, and push to its consequences Prud'homme's axiom, that "Dieu c'est le Mal." Among the Germans,

Schopenhauer's doctrine has run into monstrous forms, one of which, rightly termed "Sivaism," blasphemes by the mouth of Bahnsen and other *theophobists*, who make the origin of things a blind bad Will. What are we to think when liberty and equality, each proclaimed to be the right of man, and each set in opposition to the other, are driving the servile races into the ranks of Nihilism, and making of the worn-out races a plaything for demagogues? when history reads like a succession of disasters, and religious differences are degenerating into social anarchy, and every principle which was once essential to the conduct of life has been reversed or trampled upon? Does not the contrast between this state of things (miscalled civilization) and the ideal proposed by science, faith, reason, and poetry, teach us that we have made a false step—nay, that we are over the edge, and descending with frightful velocity into the abyss? There is not a man living, I venture to say, that looks upon the present condition of society without apprehension.

Amid such consuming thoughts Amiel sank into a long decline. We find him in 1872 at Scheveningen-by-the-Sea, whither he had gone to please his friends. For himself he had ceased to hope. "My Credo," he sadly writes, "has melted away. Yet I do believe in good, in the moral order, in salvation." Perhaps, he adds, philosophy, which is now mere physics, will rise by and by to Aristotle and Plato, "to the metaphysics of the Good and of Final Causes, or even to the Science of Spirit." In another place he states the problem thus: "Three religions are conceivable—Nature may be indifferent, or Omnipotence may be Satanic; or there may be a good and holy God. The second of these is as horrible as unlikely. The first needs as its other half Stoicism. The third alone brings happiness. But it is hard to reconcile this best of beliefs with our knowledge of the laws of Nature." He could not decide.

The last six years of his life were spent as on a death-bed. His physicians sent him in September 1874 to Hyères, and he stayed there, but had no good of it, till the next April. "I know," the Journal says, when he is suffering as he so often did, "that not one of my desires will be fulfilled; but I have long renounced desire. There is a melancholy sweetness in renunciation when we have lost heart. I hope my friends who have loved me thus far will love me even to the end. Is it hoping too much? Be this also as God wills." He quitted Hyères with regret, went home, wrote a little, heard much music, and put forth his volume of translations, "*Les Etrangères*," to which he might well have prefixed the significant motto—a summary of his existence—"Car le néant peut seul bien cacher l'infini." In July 1876 he grew worse. "How am I to bear these days, or to fill them?"

he cries out ; " my soul and body are dying together." It was a mental agony, indeed, tempered with meditations exquisitely sweet, as that of January 13, 1879, when he seemed to behold his spirit in eternity. Prayer was like balm to his wounded feelings. Yet temptation came with it, and a strange longing for " the desirable sight of Nirvana." Sometimes, in the spirit of Victor Hugo, discovering beauty in dreadful things, he ventures to write, " C'est le bonheur qui rugit au fond du gouffre. C'est Dieu qui appelle ou qui se venge."

The shadow of death was upon him when he wrote the remarkable passage I am about to reproduce. It may be termed his last confession :—

For many years [thus it runs] the Immanent God has been more real to me than the God beyond the universe ; the religion of Jacob has been more strange to me than that of Kant or Spinoza. All the *Semitic dramaturgy* has affected me like a thing of the imagination. The worth of the Apostolic documents has altered in my eyes. With a growing clearness, faith and truth have become distinct from one another. Religious psychology has turned to a matter of seeming, and has lost its noumenal value. The Apologies of Pascal, Leibnitz, and Secrétan appear to me no more convincing than those of the Middle Ages, for they take for granted what is in question, a revealed doctrine, a definite unchanging Christianity. There is now left to me from all my studies only a new theory of the phenomena of mind—the intuition of the universal metamorphosis. Particular convictions, decided principles, sharp formulas are prejudices not without a use in daily life, but implying narrowness of thought ; the Absolute carried into detail is absurd and contradictory. All parties, whether in politics, religion, esthetics, or literature, are mere petrifications of mind. All specific doctrine is stiff and stupid ; yet the starchness may be necessary in its season. In so far as our *monad* thinks, it is untrammelled by time, space, and historical surroundings ; but in so far as it is individual and acts, it must yield to current illusions, and take definite aim. We play two parts in life.

He concludes by denying personality, " We keep in reserve a future that will never come. *Omnis moriar.*"

It is sad work transcribing these pages from the " Apocalypse of Nirvana." But there are no more of them. Amiel's lessons were ended. Letters came to him from far and near, from Lausanne, Neuchâtel, Paris, London ; and flowers were sent him by friendly hands. They were garlands flung on a grave. He died at the end of April 1881. As the Journal drops from his hand for the last time, he utters a melancholy cry :—

Que vivre est difficile, ô mon cœur fatigué.

This " story of the heart," as Richard Jefferies would term it, conveys its own moral. " Shall we say," inquires Cardinal New-

man, after contrasting Montaigne and Pascal, "that there is no such thing as truth and error, but that anything is true to a man which he throweth? and not rather, as the solution of a great mystery, that truth there is, and attainable it is, but that its rays stream in upon us through the medium of our moral as well as our intellectual being."* In other words, is not faith an energy, and not the passive determination of abstract reasoning? But again, energy is character; for, in the profound words of Novalis, "Character is a perfectly educated will."† We may go even a step beyond, and assert, with the same writer, that we ought to be ashamed of our imbecility, "if we could not so deal with our thoughts as to think what we chose"—that is to say, not think capriciously and fancifully, but guide our intellect in such wise that it shall not be carried away by every wind of doctrine, like a vessel which has sails but is without a rudder. If religion compelled our assent like mathematics, it would, like mathematics, lose its moral significance. There is a reason in the nature of things why, with Kant and Jean Paul, we should look up to Freedom as the third star in that constellation of God and Immortality which lights the way of perfection. An abstract God will not save us. But to know Him as He is, we must exercise that moral liberty which is the highest gift of our nature, and the heart of our being.

The world is a world of facts, in which we cannot concern ourselves with fine-spun theories, made by men who have never tasted life's exceeding bitterness, never eaten their bread with tears, never known those griefs which, piercing to the heart, lay open its spiritual essence. Nor yet again is religion to be found in mere darkness. To what living faith can we betake ourselves, then, except to faith in Jesus? I know of none. The despairing creeds bring me no light; those which prate of enlightenment have no strength in them. Buddhism, Pessimism, Liberalism are all alike in their spiritual impotence. Christianity has endured nigh upon two thousand years, and its day is not over yet. "Man must have a religion," Amiel repeats, "is not the Christian the best after all? The religion of sin, repentance, and reconciliation, of the new birth and the life everlasting." A powerful argument in a few words! But it is the substance of Christian apologies, old or new. Can it be refuted? And do not its grace and majesty go far to prove that the "Semitic miracle-play" which Amiel put from him on his death-bed, is no idle fiction, no empty symbolizing, but the very interposition of God Himself on the stage of History? *Ego enim qui loquebar, ecce adsum.*

WILLIAM BARRY.

* "Grammar of Assent," 4th ed. p. 311.

† Schriften, ii. 242.

ART. IV.—BLUE WATER.

BLUE is a colour only obtained from water so deep as to be, in the ordinary language of mariners, unfathomable. Like many other things known to be difficult, and supposed to be impossible, the sounding of these great ocean depths was found manageable enough as soon as it became practically important that the form and nature of the ocean floor should be determined, and now it is merely a question of time and money as to when we shall be informed of all that is required in this curious investigation.

And yet it is no trifling matter, and attended by no ordinary difficulties, this raking up of the mysteries that appertain to Nature's great storehouse. The mere mechanical difficulties are enormous. It seems, no doubt, easy enough to reach the bottom of water, and a cannon-ball dropped from the surface would not be very long in arriving there, whatever the depth may be; but if this cannon-ball is suspended from a line, the case is different. Unless the weight is very heavy, compared with the size of the line, the friction of the line passing through the water causes the descent to be comparatively slow; and as, during the whole time, the line is also acted on by any currents of water that exist, whether near or far below the surface, it may happen that, instead of sinking straight down to the bottom, the line may make a series of curves or zigzags, and perhaps not reach the bottom at all. Thus, in some cases, 50,000 feet of line (nearly ten miles) have been run out without proof of bottom; not that the depth was anything like this amount, but simply that the weight was quite insufficient to resist the action of the water on the surface of the line that held it.

Even, however, if the weight does really reach the bottom, and we know that it does so, by the strain being relieved, we cannot be sure that the quantity of line out is not greatly in excess of the depth. Unless, then, there was some better proof than the stoppage of the steady pull downwards on the line, but little value could be attributed to a deep sounding, and the better proof was by no means easy to discover. In default of more sure indications a careful calculation was made as to the time needed to sink the line each additional hundred fathoms below a certain depth; but this was at best a vague and unsatisfactory method. One ingenious person sunk a shell contrived to explode when it struck the bottom, but no returning sound reached the surface through the miles of water that intervened. Others invented ingenious apparatus to determine the depth, involving either a

self-registration of the compression of the air, or marking the number of turns of a screw propeller set in motion by the resistance of the water to the descent of the instrument. But then came another difficulty. The bottom might be reached, but the apparatus sunk down could not be lifted up again. Even to lift an ordinary line sunk to a moderate depth (say a thousand fathoms) the strain is enormous, and if any obstacle is present, such as an instrument attached to the bottom, the friction soon becomes too great for any strength of line to overcome.

It will be seen, then, that merely to determine the depth of the sea in blue water is a serious and troublesome investigation; and, indeed, some of the difficulties have only lately been completely overcome. But it is not only required that we should find out the depth of water. To know anything of the ocean floor we must also be able to bring to the light of day and examine with our own eyes the material buried in the deep gloom of these vast abysses, through which but few of the sun's rays can penetrate even under the most favourable conditions. Certainly, during a great part of every twenty-four hours in all temperate latitudes the quantity of light transmitted to the bottom of the sea must be so small as to be quite unappreciable by our vision; and as light is, as far as we know, necessary to the existence of life, it was long assumed that eternal death reigned over those widespread surfaces, and that the only indications of life that could be expected must consist of skeletons of such marine animals as might perchance have reached the bottom from above. There might seem also to be another reason why death should reign supreme in these regions, in the fact that a fresh supply of oxygen is needed to replace that consumed by all animals in one way or other, and the certainty that such replacement can only take place through the whole body of the water above. The phenomena of blue water are, however, not governed by our ideas of what is likely to occur under assumed circumstances. Observation and experiment have shown that with the instruments now in use, the depth of any required part of the ocean is readily obtainable within narrow limits of error, during all weathers and even in disturbed seas, without any extraordinary difficulty. In spite of the vast pressure of the column of water above, the small supply of light that can reach the bottom, and the slow replacement of oxygen at their depths, it is also certain that animals of various kinds live and flourish there; and now we know that these animals are wonderfully like those that elsewhere occupy shallow water, and that they are capable of being transported in a living state to the surface.

The apparatus and contrivances made use of in sounding and dredging in water more than five hundred fathoms deep require

to be first explained, and we may then inquire into the results already obtained by deep sounding, so far as they bear upon the physical geography and natural history of the ocean. In every point of view these results are of great importance. They were originally obtained for the purpose of guiding and warning those who were about to lay down the telegraph cable between the British Islands and the American continent; but, as often happens in similar cases, they have led to conclusions far larger and more widely extended than were at first anticipated. They indicate peculiarities of form in those concealed depressions of the earth's surface always covered with water, that seem to point to special causes for their production; and they show, beyond all doubt, that life can and does exist under circumstances previously considered quite incapable of supporting it. They even inform us of the kind of life that is most independent of light and air; they explain, for example, the condition of minute atoms of limestone and flint under the pressure of a column of water equivalent to several tons on the square inch; and they prove that the currents affecting water at or near the surface, and at moderate depths, do not reach the bottom in mid-ocean, although other very different currents may there act. The apparatus for deep soundings should be adapted to attain three distinct objects—namely, first, the determination of the depth of the water at the place of sounding; secondly, the temperature at required depths; and, thirdly, there should be brought up from the bottom as large a quantity as possible of the mud, stones, shells, or other substances lying there. These are not always accomplished at every sounding; and, indeed, the most approved contrivances are calculated to effect these objects by separate observations.

For the original idea of the ingenious contrivances now generally adopted we are indebted to our transatlantic brethren. After many failures and disappointments, Captain Brooks, of the United States Navy, invented a sounding apparatus which consisted of a cannon-shot, having a hole through it for the passage of an iron rod. This rod terminated upwards in a pair of moveable hooks, from which the shot was so slung that the ball became detached from the instant the bottom of the sea was struck. The lower part of the iron rod was adapted to bring up a small quantity of any mud or sand it touched, and as the rod, when detached from the ball or sinker, offered but little resistance to the water, it could come back with the line, and bring with it to the surface an indication of the bottom.

With this apparatus several deep soundings of the Atlantic were obtained, and mud from the bed of that ocean was for the first time submitted to human eyes. This mud was almost entirely made up of parts of animals; ninety per cent. of it con-

sisting of the minute shells of some of the lowest forms of organization. No evidence was thus obtained as to whether the animals who constructed these shells had lived at the bottom, or whether their skeletons had sunk or been drifted to their resting-place after death. The actual depth of the deep sea is now generally taken by an independent observation—a heavy sinker of iron, shaped so as to offer as little resistance as possible to water, being dropped vertically, carrying with it a moderately fine line. When the bottom is reached, and the depth determined, the sinker becoming detached is left behind, and the line hauled in. With the assistance of steam-power, and care being taken to keep the ship vertically over the line, the operation is completed in water of ten thousand feet deep in two hours.

When it is required to obtain specimens of the bottom, a further contrivance is added, consisting of a pair of scoops or spoons, kept apart during descent by the weight of the sinker, until the bottom is reached, and then brought firmly together by the action of a strong india-rubber band. The scoops, enclosing some pounds of whatever soft, loose matter may be caught up by them, are then lifted, the sinker being left at the bottom as before. The temperature (which diminishes gradually to a minimum) is obtained by register thermometers, carefully enclosed and preserved from injury. During the voyage of the *Bulldog*, when sounding between Iceland and Greenland, in water about 1250 fathoms deep, a curious and most unexpected event occurred; and thanks to the presence of Dr. Wallich, a thorough naturalist, who was never absent from his post, the accident was taken full advantage of. On this occasion the line came to the surface, bringing with it, amongst other things, a number of living creatures, whose presence entirely settled the whole question as to the depth to which life is necessarily limited in the ocean. To understand clearly how one fact entirely and for ever set at rest this problem, or, at least, enlarged its conditions beyond all expectation, two or three things must be understood and remembered. First, it is not unusual, in sounding, that, after reaching bottom with the line and sinker, a quantity of line should be run out in excess of depth, the depth being determined independently of the whole quantity of line. This extra quantity of line (about fifty fathoms) rested, of course, at the bottom of the sea for some minutes, and probably became buried in the tenacious mud which is the usual bottom in the Atlantic, owing to the enormous pressure of water, amounting at 1250 fathoms to more than a ton and a half in every square inch of surface. While thus buried, the line would seem to have attracted the attention of a colony of inquiring star fishes resident on the spot, and altogether unaccustomed to an intrusion of the

kind. Some of them—no doubt the younger and more curious members of the colony—not being very well able to distinguish the real nature of the foreign visitor in the gloom which must prevail below, did as such animals will do—attached themselves to the strange substance with which they were brought in contact, and when it began to move, allowed themselves to be lifted up towards the surface, adhering the more firmly as they were removed farther and farther from their home. Dr. Wallich informs us that, "on reaching the surface, and for upwards of a quarter of an hour afterwards, they continued to move about energetically; and one very perfect specimen, which had fixed itself close to the extreme end of the line, and was still convulsively grasping at it with its long spinous arms, was secured *in situ* on the rope, and consigned to immortality in a bottle of spirits."

The habits of star-fishes are peculiar and well-known. They move by creeping along mud or rock, and the particular group to which the specimens obtained were found to belong, move only by spine-covered arms attached to a stony framework, and are thus by their mere weight quite precluded from rising at will through the water. Independently of the fact that they were mixed up with the bottom mud, adhering to the lowest end of the sounding-line, their habits and construction are such as to indicate the place of their abode.

But the mud with which these animals were found, and the contents of their stomachs agreed so well together, as to render it absolutely certain that no error could arise on this score, for it was clear that they had lived where they were found. No less than ninety-five per cent. of the mud consisted of shelly cases of very small animals, precisely similar to those which had previously been found to cover the Atlantic sea bottom in almost every place where the bottom had been reached. The star-fishes had clearly fed on these little animals, and thus belonged to the same condition of existence. If it were necessary to bring further evidence to prove that the two groups of animals inhabited the deep water and lived at the bottom, we might refer to the discovery made also by Dr. Wallich, of the presence of tubes made by worms out of the fine sand and broken fragments of shells amongst which they live, and the fact that other worm-like animals had pierced holes in similar small shells obtained at the same time from the same mud. The animals inhabiting the minute shells here alluded to, are very widely spread in all seas, and, as it now appears, at all depths. They belong to some of the lowest and simplest forms of organized life, and though complex, are so rather by an infinite repetition of similar parts than by any grouping together of organs having different uses. Thus,

although what is called a shell of these creatures seems to be built up of many distinct chambers, and thus resembles the nautilus—one of the most highly organized of the soft and boneless animals—the so-called chambered shell, varying greatly in size, is merely a grouped habitation of tens, hundreds, or thousands of individuals multiplied according to circumstances. This kind of life is more like that of a plant than an animal, and forms a curious transition from the vegetable to the animal kingdom. Nor must it be supposed that any local or accidental drift of a submarine current can have brought the star-fishes from neighbouring shallow waters, in which they usually live, to these great depths. Independently of the living and lively state in which they came to the surface, the mere fact of their distance from land or shoal water is sufficient to decide this question. The spot where they were found is five hundred miles from Cape Farewell, the southern extremity of Greenland, and two hundred and fifty miles from the nearest point of Iceland. The soundings show that there is deep water all around.

We now, therefore, know something of the bottom of blue water, and of the objects that would there be presented could we descend in diving-bells, enduring the increased pressure of some thousands of feet of water over our heads, as well as we can adapt ourselves to the diminished pressure of the air when we ascend in a balloon or climb lofty mountains. Let us briefly survey these newly discovered fields.

The North Atlantic Ocean covers and conceals a vast depression of the earth's surface—an area of several millions of square miles. The lower portions of this space are at least six miles below the general level of the ocean, while the general depth varies between ten and twenty thousand feet. On the whole, the depth seems to increase by step-like and sudden depressions, conducting to broad terraces.

This great depression does not seem to partake of the nature of an inverted mountain chain, or to correspond strictly with any condition of that part of the earth's surface exposed to air. It is, rather, a gigantic repetition of the converse of what is called by geographers table-land, in which, as in Spain, the land rises suddenly from near the coast by abrupt and lofty elevations, each representing a wall when looked at from without, and each in succession conducting only to a level plain or plateau, which ranges for hundreds of miles, and then terminates at the foot of another similar well or step. In the Atlantic the steps are downwards instead of upwards. Two hundred miles to the west, beyond the last European land, is the first of such steps, and it drops nearly 7000 feet in a few miles. This step extends across nearly to the American shore, where is the corresponding

step upwards. South of this great plateau is another step downwards, also amounting to several thousand feet; and then again a third, leading down to the lowest depths, from which little has as yet been obtained beyond the certainty of the vast profundity.

Spread evenly over many thousands of square miles of the vast floor or terrace first described is a stiff mud, made up of minute shells, which we now know must include the *débris* of innumerable animals who have permanently resided there, including among them representatives of various natural tribes. There are star-fishes, some of which have been seen alive by human eyes, and small microscopic animals hardly to be distinguished from those inhabiting water of moderate depth, and there also are industrious worms casing themselves in cast-off habitations, as they do nearer the air; there are, in all probability, small crustaceans; and, lastly, but of greater real interest to us than all these, there are little representatives of the ship-worm; boring holes not as large as that which would be made by the finest needle, but by such holes giving admission to external influences which would be in the highest degree injurious when the interior reached was a metallic wire and the substance bored through a coating of guttapercha intended to preserve the wire from such contact as would destroy electrical insulation. In this creature, which no one has yet seen, and whose work is only recognized on careful microscopic examination, but whose effect might be felt at a distance of thousands of miles from the seat of injury, is an enemy more dangerous, and causing a difficulty more serious, than any that has yet presented itself, as tending to interfere with the permanent preservation of the submarine telegraph cable laid across the bottom of the Atlantic. The small boring worm reaches to all known depths, and although at present it may not have eaten into guttapercha, who can say how soon the taste may arise which would so seriously interfere with our human contrivances for instantaneous communication?

But though a large part of the Atlantic floor is certainly covered with this curious mud, it must not be supposed that there are no intervals of naked, jagged rock. Such intervals certainly occur near the edges of the vast broken walls that separate one terrace from another. There must be bold cliffs in those breadths of a few miles within which the depth changes so rapidly. Could we see them laid bare, they would no doubt astonish us as much by their grandeur and picturesqueness as they do now by the knowledge of their abruptness and magnitude. Off the coast of Ireland there is a fall of 7200 feet within a distance of ten miles, while on the east coast of Greenland there is a fall of 3500 feet within three and a half miles, a steepness not equalled in any mountain chain of considerable magnitude in any part of the

land. No doubt there are also numerous deep valleys and fiords, and sudden peaked elevations, even on those bottoms that have been described as covered by uniform sheets of mud, and much yet remains to be learned before we can satisfactorily mark in a map, or by a model, the whole of this ocean floor.

The inhabitants of blue water do not often include those finny tribes which we most of us are in the habit of regarding as belonging especially to the ocean. Fishes are not, on the whole, very abundant in the sea, except where the water is only moderately deep, for they depend for their food on the vicinity of banks and shoals, rarely met with many hundred miles from land. The whales, of all kinds, traverse with enormous rapidity the open water; the sharks, and other voracious fishes, often follow ships for a long time, for the chance of what is thrown overboard. But these are not really the important kinds, at least if number and variety can give importance. When the weather is fair, and the wind not tending to storm, there is in blue water a vast profusion of animal life other than fishes. On such occasions countless multitudes of animated beings float near the surface, so that the water may be said to be alive with them. Such animals not only prey one upon another, but multitudes of them also serve as food for the largest whales. These creatures are almost as unfamiliar to the navigator as they are to the general public; and although exceedingly curious, and often wonderfully beautiful in form and colour, they can still be described only in the language of natural history.

In all seas, but especially those near the poles of the earth, and most especially near the Antarctic Circle, there is a form of vegetation which, in minuteness and in the marvellously rapid multiplication of the individual, is the counterpart and rival of the small animals already described. The most that the eye can discern of these forms of life is a brown stain occasionally noticed on the ice; and yet we are told by Sir Joseph Hooker that there is one deposit alone of the microscopic valves of flint secreted by these measuring four hundred miles in length and one hundred and twenty miles in breadth, and of great and increasing thickness. It is, however, beyond a doubt, that all large and prominent life abounds much more, and is more varied and familiar, in the narrow interval where the ocean has less than a hundred fathoms of depth, than in open water; and the life that there exists is more useful to us both for food and economic purposes.

The animals that belong to the deep sea absent themselves entirely in rough weather, and are scarcely seen, even in the fine intervals, during inclement seasons. What, we may ask, becomes of the animals thus disappearing? No one can yet tell whether they are capable of inhabiting deeper water, whether they can

migrate to other and calmer seas, or whether they really do not become developed under circumstances so unfavourable to them.

Blue water then is a kingdom of its own. It has its own peculiarities and characteristics, even at the surface; it covers depths only of late years plumbed by man, but now known to be limited. Although its depth is certainly very great, it reposes on a solid and permanent floor, constantly receiving additions by the deposit of fresh material; it contains and nourishes inhabitants even in its most remote recesses, and these inhabitants are very closely allied to others that are tolerably well known—at least, to naturalists. In blue water the wave rises to its greatest height, lashed by the furious winds that pass over the surface; but the great depths are undisturbed, and heave and sink with the tide, without reference to the storm. Such water is affected by surface and deep currents, equalizing and mingling the temperature and contents of the polar and equatorial seas. It is the pathway but not the habitation of the larger fishes and whales; and probably the uniform temperature of water at great depths enables certain forms of life to be conveyed across the equator, and others beneath the ice, from one side to another of the polar seas.

ANDREW T. SIBBALD.

ART. V.—THE APOSTLES' CREED AND THE RULE OF FAITH.

IN a recent number of this Review, I gave an account of the evidence which proves, with a very high degree of probability, that the Apostles' Creed can be traced to sub-Apostolic times. It will be remembered that I then started with the Creed as we find it in Rufinus and Marcellus of Ancyra; and that this differed in a few particulars from the Creed as we now use it. I now propose to examine, as far as I can, the additions which have brought it into its present shape; an inquiry which, if less important than the early history of the symbol, yet has some points of considerable interest. How these additions came to be incorporated into a Creed which had been so jealously preserved from any alteration, is a question we may more profitably consider after going through them in detail. But we can at once remark two conditions in the Church of the fourth and following centuries, which would be likely to permit of such changes.

The extension of the Roman Symbol to the churches of the West, where its verbal identity was less minutely guarded, must have inevitably led to many slight variations in the wording of a formula which was still handed down by word of mouth and not by writing. At the same time the multiplication of symbols in the East during the great Arian controversy, and their employment as tests instead of mere watchwords, led to a selection everywhere of such local variations as were found to define the faith more explicitly than the original Roman Creed.

1. The first clause which has been added is "*Creatorem cæli et terræ.*" I need not remark that this was part of the Apostolic preaching and of the Rule of Faith from the beginning. From one passage in Tertullian (*Virg. Vel. i.*) it seems as if "*mundi conditorem*" was found in the African Creed in his day; but the first unequivocal evidences of the clause being found in any Symbol come from the East, where its occurrence in the Creed of St. Cyril, in the Apostolical Constitutions,* and in the so-called liturgy of James, implies its general reception before the Council of Nicæa. We next find the equivalent phrase—"universorum conditorem, regem sæculorum, immortalem et invisibilem"—in a creed expounded by St. Augustine† and St. Fulgentius, and in one ascribed by Caspari to the Sardinian church and to Lucifer of Cagliari. It first appears in its present shape in a sermon probably by St. Cæsarius of Arles,‡ showing that it was current in Southern Gaul at the end of the fifth century. It is indeed not in the Creed of Faustus of Riez, of about the same time and place; but other omissions in the same document make this less remarkable, and its presence later is so uniform as to make further details unnecessary. It is only noteworthy that in the Bangor (Irish) Antiphonary in the Ambrosian Library, we meet with the variant—"invisibilem, omnium creaturarum visibilium et invisibilium conditorem."

This evidence seems to prove that the clause existed equivalently from a very early period in the Eastern and African Churches, and that its present form and adoption into the Roman Creed is probably due to the influence of the Nicene Symbol.

2. "*Natus est de Spiritu Sancto et virgine Maria*" seems to have been the original form of the Roman Creed; we so find it in Marcellus, in one of St. Augustine's sermons, and even as late as St. Leo's letter to Flavian. But elsewhere in Italy the ordinary form was "*ex Maria virgine,*" which appears from

* VII. 41.

† *Serm.* 215. This reads like a paraphrase, but Denzinger first showed conclusively that it is part of the text of the creed St. Augustine was explaining.

‡ *Serm. suppos. St. Aug. No. 242.*

Tertullian, SS. Augustine and Fulgentius, to have been also the use of the Church of Africa. Early evidence in the East is scanty, but points to the same variation; thus Origen must have had "et" in his creed, and it is found also in the symbol of Salamis, and probably in that followed by St. Cyril (Hahn, Nos. 67, 62); but the commoner Oriental form must have been equivalent to "ex M. V." St. Augustine (*Enchir.* xii.) pointed out that the ordinary clause might be misinterpreted; and no doubt this led to the various attempts to improve it which we afterwards meet with. Such are "Natus de virgine Maria per Spiritum Sanctum" (in the Gallican Sacramentary at Bobbio); "Natus de Spiritu Sancto ex utero Mariæ virginis" (Mozarabic Liturgy). The present shape of the clause first occurs in a Homily by Faustus, a monk of Lerins, who was afterwards Bishop of Riez in Provence in 462.

3. "Mortuus" is first certainly found in the Creed of Aquileia, as expounded by St. Nicetas, which otherwise differs in several particulars from the Roman Symbol; perhaps it also occurs in an African Creed explained by St. Augustine.* It forms part of the Apostolic Kerygma used by St. Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 4; and of the Rule of Faith as stated by St. Ignatius, St. Justin, Origen, and Tertullian,† but not of those given by St. Irenæus. It is found in a few Oriental creeds, orthodox and semi-Arian, but cannot have been general in the East, nor have been introduced into the Roman creed from their influence.

4. "Descendit ad inferos." This clause has a more remarkable history than any of the other additions to the creed. Not to refer to any other proof from Scripture, which would not be to the present purpose, it formed part of the Apostolic preaching in Acts ii. 31. It is found in the apocryphal but early account of Thaddæus' preaching to Abgarus, translated from the Syriac by Eusebius.‡ It is testified to by St. Justin, St. Irenæus, Origen, and Tertullian, but is in none of these authors treated as part of the Rule of Faith.§ Its first appearance in any creed extant, is in what is called the fourth Sirmian formulary. This was a symbol drawn up at Sirmium in Latin by Mark of Arethusa, one of Constantius's court bishops. The Emperor, in the pursuance of his merely secular policy, wished a creed to be submitted to the assembled bishops at Rimini and Seleucia, which should obtain

* *Serm. in Redd. Symboli*, 215.

† *Trall.* ix; *Dial.* 85; *Princ.* i. 4; *adv. Prax.* 2.

‡ *H. E.* i. 13. But it is not in the longer apocryphal Acts of Thaddæus published by Tischendorf. Its development in the Gospel of Nicodemus is too well known to need more than mention.

§ *Dial.* 72; *Cont. Hær.* v. 31, 1.; *Huet* in Origen, iv. 135, and the passages there quoted; *Tert. de An.* 5 and 55.

as many subscriptions as possible, Catholic, Arian, and semi-Arian, and so supersede the Nicene Confession. It is singular that this very doctrine of the descent into hell was pressed by the orthodox against Arius and his followers who (like Apollinaris later) denied the existence of our Lord's human soul.* It seems as if this insertion was a concession to the Catholics, perhaps also to the semi-Arians, with the design of obtaining their more ready acceptance of an heretical creed. We find in this formula another example of the same intention, in the many titles of honour which it ascribes to the Son, in the hope that "Consubstantial" might perhaps be thought superfluous. All mention of our Lord's burial is omitted; the clause running thus in the Greek translation, which alone remains—"Who died, and went down into the lower world, and ordered things therein; whom the doorkeepers of Hades, shuddering, beheld, and He arose again the third day. . . ."† It is quite conceivable that an Arian might, without much insincerity, have accepted this as merely equivalent to a confession of our Lord's burial, and as no admission that he had a human soul. As a matter of fact we know that a belief in the doctrine was not confined to those who accepted the Nicene definition—for instance, the interpolator of the Ignatian letters, who seems to have been an Arian or an Apollinarian, went out of his way to insert it.‡ St. Cyril dwelt upon it at length in his Catechetical Lectures (xiv. 17, 18, 19); the account of our Lord's reception by the just reading like the well-known passage in the Gospel of Nicodemus. Still, this is sufficient, as Grabe pointed out,§ to show that the clause cannot have been inserted, as Pearson thought, against the Arians; though Grabe's own view, that it was directed against the Marcionites and Gnostics, is devoid of all foundation. This creed having been accepted by the unorthodox bishops at Rimini, the Arian leaders carried it to Nike, a town in Thrace, where they caused it to be subscribed by a small packed Synod, so that from the similarity of name it might pass for that of Nicæa. Our clause, however, is expressed rather differently from the Sirmian creed, running thus: "Dead and buried, and who descended into the under world, before whom Hades itself trembled."|| The same symbol was repeated, with only trivial

* So St. Athanasius frequently in the "Contra Apollinarium"; e.g. Ἀρείος σάρκα μόνην πρὸς ἀποκρυφήν τῆς θεότητος ὁμολογεῖ τὴν τοῦ πάθους νόησιν, καὶ τὴν ἐξ ᾧδου ἀναστᾶσιν τῇ θεότητι προσάγειν τολμᾷ (ii. 3; Tom. i. p. 942).

. . . ἀποθανόντα καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε οἰκονομήσαντα ὃν πυλωροὶ ᾧδου ἰδόντες ἐφρίξαν * καὶ ἀναστάντα κ.τ.λ.—(Socrates, H. E. ii. 37).

† Trall. ix. 4.

‡ Note 13 on Bull's "Judicium Ecc. Cath."

|| Theodoret, ii. 21.

alterations, at an Homoian Council held at Constantinople in 360, and there accepted, among others, by Ulphilas, the apostle of the Goths.* But the clause does not occur in any of the synodical or personal professions of faith, orthodox and the contrary, which were so numerous in the East at that time. Its absence is most remarkable from the creed subscribed at Seleucia, since that Council was called at the same time as the one at Rimini. This appears to me to strengthen the presumption that it was proposed at the latter place because it was already received in some parts of Italy. The language used tells in the same direction; τὰ καρχθόνια being evidently the Greek version of "infernæ" (see Phil. ii. 8); and "descendit ad infernæ" is the form in which it first appears in the Western creeds. We thus find it, according to Rufinus, in the Creed of Aquileia thirty or forty years later, and towards the end of the century in Africa and Southern Gaul, if we may trust Caspari's ascription of two creeds to Vigilius of Tapsus and St. Cæsarius respectively. Such a wide diffusion seems to prove that the clause must have formed part of many Western symbols for a considerable time. Next it is found as the creed of the Spanish and Gallic churches; in St. Ildephonsus and the Gallican Sacramentary published by Mabillon; finally, in the creed as given by Amalarius of Treves. The present form "descendit ad inferos" occurs first in the Irish Bangor Antiphonary, and was no doubt generally accepted as expressing the doctrine that our Lord had descended to deliver the souls in Limbus.

5. The original form of the article "sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis" was, as we have seen, "sedet ad dexteram Patris." The additions do not occur in any Oriental symbol; we find "Dei" added first in one of St. Augustine's expositions of the African Creed, and next in the Spanish Creeds of St. Ildephonsus and the Mozarabic Liturgy. "Patris omnipotentis" seems to have been the earliest Gallic form; and the coalescence of the two, producing our clause as it now stands, is found in Faustus of Riez and the Irish service-books. I may remark that both these words were absent from what seems to have been the earliest form of the Athanasian Creed (Hahn, sect. 81).

6. I have said something in my previous article of the omission of the attribute "Catholicam" from the primitive form of the Roman Creed. It must evidently have been contained in many Oriental symbols before the Nicene Council; for we find it in the second formula of Arius, and in the creeds of the predecessor of St. Athanasius, and of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. After Nicæa it becomes an ordinary part of the Eastern symbols. In the

* Socrates, H. E. ii. 41.

West it appears later; in St. Ildephonsus, Faustus of Riez, and the Irish and Gallic service-books. In the Bangor Antiphony the variant "*sanctam esse Ecclesiam Catholicam*" occurs.

7. "*Sanctorum communionem*" is not found in any of the early creeds. As far as I can trace, it is first seen in the sermon ascribed to St. Cæsarius, to which I have several times referred; after that in Faustus of Riez, and in the Mozarabic and Gallo-Irish liturgies. There can be no doubt Pearson was right in pointing out the stress that was laid by early writers upon the unity between the Church militant and the Church triumphant, as one of the principal reasons for the insertion of this article; besides the passages he quotes, the language of the sixth Council of Toledo—"Omnis ecclesia collocata iam in regno cælesti et degens in sæculo præsentem"—is worth remarking for its clearness. We may conclude, from a sermon of Faustus of Riez,* that this article was employed, if not introduced into the Creed to condemn the heresy of Vigilantius, who had recently opposed the cultus of the Saints, on the ground that they were not yet united to Christ in Heaven. Faustus' words are: "*Ut transeamus ad sanctorum communionem. Illos hic sententia ista confundit, qui sanctorum et amicorum Dei cineres non in honore debere esse blasphemant, qui beatorum martyrum gloriosam memoriam sacrorum reverentia monumentorum colendam esse non credunt.*" But it seems to me that a further reason may possibly have led to its introduction in the first instance, and that it was only later used to meet the errors of Vigilantius. In the African Creed, as far back as St. Cyprian, we find the later articles ran thus: "*Credo remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam,*" thus expressing, with great distinctness, that the Church was the means of sanctification, and its members were consequently holy.† From one of Tertullian's accounts of the Creed or of the Rule of Faith‡ it seems as if this peculiarity existed in his day; and St. Fulgentius witnesses § that the same form of the last articles of the Creed was used in Africa two centuries after St. Cyprian. I need not do more than remind the reader that this last aspect of the communion of saints is so strongly emphasized by St. Paul's using the very word "*saint*" as synonymous with "*Christian*;" and that in the Epistle to

* In Caspari; Quellen, iv. 273, and quoted by Harnack, "*Dogmengeschichte*," ii. 450.

† St. Cyp. Ep. 67, 7; 70, 2: ed Hartel: "*Voce sua ipsi confitentur, remissionem peccatorum non dari nisi per sanctam ecclesiam posse . . . intelligimus, remissionem peccatorum non nisi in ecclesia dari, apud hæreticos autem, ubi ecclesia non sit, non posse peccata dimitti.*"

‡ Virg. Vel. i. . . . iudicare vivos et mortuos, per carnis etiam resurrectionem."

§ Contra Fab. x.

the Hebrews both grounds for the article are brought together (xii. 22-24).*

8. "Vitam æternam." We know from St. Jerome, as well as from Rufinus and the other authorities formerly quoted, that the primitive Roman Creed did not contain this article. But its equivalent must obviously have been included in the Apostolic Kerygma, and, indeed, is in one passage of Scripture associated with the resurrection of the dead as one of the elementary truths of Christianity.† It is in the Rule of Faith as stated by St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen; and must have been the last clause in, at any rate, some Oriental creeds, as it is found in St. Cyril's and that of Antioch (Hahn, 62-63). But the more usual form in the East was *ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος*, which occurs as early as the second formulary of Arius, and the Apostolical Constitutions; then in the Creed of Salamis, which is the source of the Nicene symbol we now use. This was probably a modification of the original article to meet the errors of Marcellus of Ancyra, against whom another clause of the same creed is directed; "of whose kingdom there shall be no end."

But the addition to the Apostles' Creed did not come from the East. It had been current in Africa in St. Cyprian's day, as we see from the passages I have just quoted for another purpose; it is found in the sermon of St. Augustine's to which I have before referred as giving an African Creed,‡ also in St. Fulgentius. In Italy it is first met with in a sermon of St. Nicetas (Hahn, 25); which shows that it was part of the Creed of Aquileia in the middle of the fifth century. After that it is common, is in the Spanish and Gallic service-books, in Faustus of Riez, and the Creed of Treves.

I have endeavoured to relate, very inadequately, the history of the several additions to the original Roman Creed. On comparing them it will be seen that one only ("descendit ad inferos") can have been introduced from the East, and even that was probably already used in Italy, though the actual form of the article, "Creatorem cæli et terræ," was probably taken from the Oriental symbols. Almost all the changes and additions are first traceable to Africa; they are next found in Southern Gaul and Spain. It is in accordance with this that the first example of a creed, which corresponds in all respects but one with

* See the remarkably distinct language of the earliest Apostolic Father, St. Clement, on justification, and the remission of sins through the prayers of the "saints" (xxx. i.; lvi. i.; lvii. i.).

† Heb. vi. 1, 2. . . . τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον . . . θεμέλιον . . . ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, καὶ κρίματος αἰωνίου.

‡ No. 215. The form here is "resurrectionem carnis et vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam."

that we now use, comes to us from Gaul. It is found in a work by Pirminius, a monk who lived in France and Germany in the middle of the eighth century. We are left to conjecture how the various alterations and additions came to be combined in one symbol. But there can be little doubt it was due to the desire for liturgical uniformity which prevailed in Gaul, as we learn from the Synods of Vannes (461), Agde (506), and Epaone (517), for this would lead to a comparison of the various creeds current, and to a selection of the best points in each. How the Creed so shaped came to receive universal acceptance in the West, there is also no direct evidence to show. Canon Swainson laid stress on its having grown up in Gaul, and ascribed its currency merely to Charlemagne's influence. But other non-Catholic authors—Dr. Heurtley, Prof. Lumby,* and Harnack,† are far more likely to be right in supposing that the approval of the Holy See must have preceded the general reception of the Creed. It is incredible that the Bishops of Italy should have accepted a Gallic creed, unless under the authority of Rome, and the same may be said of the Church of England, which had in 747, at the second Council of Clovesho, prescribed strict conformity to the Roman rite. Nor is it inconsistent with what we otherwise know that a creed current in France should have been authorized by the Pope; we know that in the same manner the Gallican replaced the Roman Psalter, and the "Gloria in Excelsis" came into the Mass. There is sufficient evidence of Charlemagne's zeal in matters doctrinal and liturgical to warrant us in supposing that this revised version of the Creed was brought before the Pope by his authority. There would be the less difficulty in its reception, since several of the changes were already current in Italy, and all would be recognized as improvements. The wide extent of Charlemagne's empire would soon cause the Creed to be rapidly accepted throughout Western Christendom, though older forms would linger for a time in countries which lay, like England and Ireland, beyond the direct influence of the Empire. The latest change was the substitution of "inferos" for "inferna" in the fifth article. Firminius' Creed retained the latter word, but "inferos" is already found in some psalters of the ninth century. Such is the later history of the Apostles' Creed, and it is remark-

* "History of the Creeds," chap. iii. I am glad here to acknowledge the learning, fairness, and judicial character of this work, which had until recently escaped my notice. It is unfortunate that the author should either have been unacquainted with Caspari's labours, or not have availed himself of them, and that that portion, at any rate, of the work which deals with the Apostles' Creed, should be practically out of date.

† "Dogmengesch.," ii. p. 299. "Rome, and through Rome, the West, finally received the Gallo-Frankish form of the Apostles' Creed."

ably consistent with what we learned before of its origin. The great symbol of the West grew into being and completeness with the spontaneous unconsciousness of some living organism. Or rather, it is the *ἑυφημοῦ στόμα φροντίδος*; the language that our Mother, the Church, puts into our mouths at the moment of our spiritual birth. The creeds produced during the era of the great Oriental Councils are in the sharpest contrast to this. Questions of some difficulty arise concerning them, but their history abounds in documents, and they are obviously the result of much thought and analysis, designed to express the truth with the utmost accuracy, and to exclude heresy as distinctly as possible. Each is alike a function of the Church, but the one is a direct expression of her belief, the other, the carefully defined statement of the same. In this difference of character is to be found the reason for a difference of treatment, which has sometimes proved a stumbling-block to non-Catholics.

The nature of this confusion comes out so clearly in Dr. Swainson's work, and the subject is of such importance, that it is worth while to consider his statements in detail. He begins by making an admission of vital importance: that the Rule of Faith, on which the Creed was based and to which it ran parallel, was a collection of unwritten doctrine, handed down by oral tradition, and independent of Scripture. To quote his own words:—"That there was a *doctrina tradita*, a traditionary teaching of the Church, delivered in the first instance *viva voce*, and independently of the writings of the Apostles, no one can question."* No student, indeed of the monuments of primitive Christianity, could come to any other conclusion. I have recited much of the evidence for it in my account of the Kerygma and the Rule of Faith, and will therefore here only mention a few points which bear more particularly on tradition. The great storehouse of information as to the mind of the Church in the second century, in this as in most other questions, is St. Irenæus. He tells us that St. Clement received the Rule of Faith from the Apostles, and that it and the Apostolic tradition were handed down to his own times by the Church of Rome by means of the apostolic succession of its bishops. Those who had received this succession were the proper custodians of the faith and interpreters of Scripture. Most remarkable of all, the authority of tradition was so fully established, that even the early heretics did not venture to deny it. As Franzelin points out,† both Gnostics and Catholics alike appealed to tradition, the former maintaining that it was a secret inheritance of their own, the

* *Op. cit.* p. 26.

† iii. 3. 3; iv. 26, 5, and 33, 8.

‡ "De Trad. et Script.," cap. 2, thes. viii.

latter, that it was in the public guardianship of the successors of the Apostles. This is the basis of St. Irenæus's argument, and it comes out as strongly in his disciple Tertullian.* When Marcion claimed the right to interpret Scripture independently of tradition, Tertullian at once recognized that such a licence was as fatal to any certainty in faith as the claim to erase from the Canon all such books and passages as did not suit his purpose.† The precious fragments of early writers embedded in the History of Eusebius bear the same witness to the authority of tradition. Thus the author of a work against Artemon calls it "the mind of the Church, the rule of the primitive faith," and Papias considered he would not gain so much from what he found in the books as from what came from living and enduring speech.‡ I need not multiply quotations, as it is satisfactory to find Canon Swainson in agreement with us as to the independent existence and authority of tradition in the primitive Church. We may take it for granted (though he does not appear to say so) that he considered the Apostles' Creed, like the Rule of Faith, to have been a part of the unwritten teaching of the Roman Church.

But he goes on to affirm that as soon as any question arose which was not explicitly decided by the Rule of Faith the Fathers appealed to Scripture as the only test; and consequently that the creeds of the era of the Councils were based upon Scripture alone. It is natural to ask when we find the first evidence in ecclesiastical history of such a change. The first distinct example of an appeal to Scripture only is at the rise of the Arian heresy, but with this remarkable characteristic, that it is the Arians and Eusebians who did this, their loudest and most plausible complaint being that the orthodox had introduced a word—"homocöusion"—consubstantial—not found in the Bible.

Those who had been the cause of the introduction of a term not to be found in Holy Writ [says Professor Lumby]§ were, as might have

* Praeser. Haer., especially cap. 25; so too Origen, "Illa sola credenda est veritas quæ in nullo ab ecclesiastica et apostolica discordat traditione." De Princ. Praef. 2.

† "Tantum veritati obstrepat adulter sensus, quantum et corruptor stilus. . . . Ergo non ad Scripturas provocandum est, in quibus aut nulla aut incerta victoria est, aut parum certa . . . ordo rerum desiderabat, illud prius proponi, quibus competat fides ipsa, cuius sint Scripturæ, a quo et per quos et quando et quibus sit tradita disciplina qua fiunt Christiani, ubi enim apparuerit esse veritatem disciplinæ et fidei Christianæ, illic erit veritas Scripturarum et expositionum et omnium traditionum Christianorum." Praeser. Haer. 17-19.

‡ το ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φρονήμα, πιστέως ἀρχαίας κανὼν (iv. 28). Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσούτου με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης (iii. 39.)

§ Op. cit. p. 41.

been expected, loudest in their outcry against it, and for a century or more their language was constantly that of the Sirmian Synod, that all mention of substance should be omitted from a profession of faith, as it was an expression which none could understand, and was not to be found in the Scriptures.

Fortunately, Canon Swainson has not contented himself with general assertions, he goes into particulars, and, in many instances, quotes at length the passages on which he relies—a practice which, as he says, is convenient for those who wish to test his statements. The examination of a few of these will, I think, be sufficient and not uninteresting. Thus, he tells us that the Council of Carthage, reported by St. Cyprian,* “appealed to Scripture as the one authority when tradition failed.” There is of course a sense in which this proposition is perfectly true; but, true or false, it is not what they said:—“We should revert to the divine original, and to the evangelic and apostolic traditions.”

Again, the Council of Antioch based its condemnation of Paul of Samosata, according to our author, upon Scripture. But if their letter be read it will be found to begin by affirming, “the faith which they had received from the beginning . . . as it has been kept in the Catholic Holy Church even unto this day, being proclaimed by continuous succession from those blessed apostles,” after which exordium passages of Scripture are quoted.

In the same way, the reader is told that Lucian the Martyr, and Alexander, the predecessor of St. Athanasius, based their arguments on Scripture; the truth being that they respectively begin by saying, “We believe, as the Apostolic Church teaches,” and “in accordance with the evangelic and apostolic tradition.”

St. Augustine, again, is said to have taught that the contents of the Creed are simply extracted from the sacred writings, but the passage quoted in support of this assertion explicitly says (Serm. 214) the contents of the Creed are to be found “in sanctis scripturis et in ecclesiasticis sermonibus.”

Such habitual inaccuracy, to use no harder word, will prepare the reader for still more surprising statements. The climax is probably reached in the following passage: “The treatises of Augustine on the Descent into Hell, and of Basil on the Holy Ghost, are the best examples of appeal to Scripture only in support of the doctrine of the Church, as is the principle of the Church of England.” The reference to St. Augustine is soon disposed of. I suppose it to mean either Ep. 164 or 187, probably the former. Both of these are professedly only expositions of a difficult passage of Scripture, put forward as his personal opinion, and with no suggestion whatever that Scripture

* Ep. lxxiv. 10.

is the sole Rule of Faith. Any Catholic commentator on the Bible might, with equal reason, be claimed as an adherent of the Anglican doctrine.

The reference to St. Basil is more instructive. What strange fatality led Dr. Swainson to cite this Father, and above all his book on the Holy Ghost, I cannot guess. This treatise has always been regarded by Catholics as one of the strongest Patristic testimonies to the authority of tradition; and it is not too much to say that no Catholic writing at the present day could use clearer or more emphatic language or the subject. A few of the more decisive passages are all that I can give here. The faithful are distinctly told (in cap. ix.) that the Church's use and reception of words in Scripture is the true test of their meaning. With this the conduct of heretics is contrasted (cap. x.) who "are striving to shake the solidity of the Christian faith, by levelling to the ground and effacing the apostolic tradition. Wherefore, like *bond-fide* creditors forsooth, they call loudly for proofs from the Scriptures, dismissing the unwritten testimony of the Fathers as of no worth." Again—"Of the public and private doctrines of the Church, some are derived religiously from the written teaching, and others from the tradition from the Apostles which has been delivered to us, but both have equal force unto godliness."* In order to ascertain the sense of *σύν* in the Bible, he appeals to tradition, saying (cap. xxix.) "I take it to be an Apostolic command to abide also by the unwritten traditions," quoting 1 Cor. xi. 3, and 2 Thess. ii. 14. Lastly, in reference to the particular point with which we are concerned—the origin of the Creed—St. Basil's language is not uncertain. He says:—"Time would fail me to enumerate the unwritten mysteries of the Church. I leave the rest; the very confession of the faith in Father, Son and Holy Ghost. From what Scriptures do we derive it?"†

This brief examination of Canon Swainson's statements is enough to show they cannot be trusted. He would have done better to take the advice of the Maurist editors of St. Basil, not to select the authority of the Church and tradition as his battlefield, since defeat is fatal, and every circumstance favours his opponent.‡ A learned German Protestant, who is encumbered

* Τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως διαδοθέντα ἡμῖν, ἐν μυστηρίῳ παρεδεξάμεθα ἅπερ ἀμφοτέρα τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ἐνσεβείαν (cap. xxviii. 1.)

† ἐπιλείψει με ἡ ἡμέρα, τὰ ἄγραφα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μυστήρια διηγοῦμενον. Ἐὼ τὰλλα ἂν τὴν δὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς πιστέως εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἐκ ποίων γραμμάτων ἔχομεν (cap. xxvii. 1.)

‡ Præf. sect. vi. 1.

with no theories, has lately given a much fairer appreciation of the facts as they come out in ecclesiastical history. Professor Harnack says *:—

The revolution which is characterized by the isolation of Scripture, its separation from the authority of ecclesiastical tradition, and the destruction of the latter, first began in the sixteenth century. . . . In antiquity, on the contrary, the bond between Scripture and the maternal organization of the Church was in no way severed. . . . everything in the Church was held to be Apostolic, and the guidance of the Church by the Holy Ghost preserved this Apostolic element from any change.

Harnack goes on, indeed, to point out some ambiguities which he considers due to the stress laid at the same time on the independent authority of Scripture, and remarks that there is a difference in this matter between different schools in the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries :—

The Orientals, most of all the Antiochenes, but also Cyril of Jerusalem, held more exclusively to Scripture, the Alexandrines and Cappadocians adhered more decidedly to tradition. At any rate, the difference is very obvious on comparing Theodoret with Cyril of Alexandria.

It is not possible to reply to this point without a much less superficial knowledge of the Fathers of that period than I possess. It is enough here to remark that the Antiochene school, as a whole, gave birth to the heresies of that time, which does not commend its method to those who believe the cause of orthodoxy was more consistently served by the Fathers of Alexandria and Cappadocia. St. Cyril of Jerusalem must be taken separately. His well-known association with the semi-Arian party might have explained some uncertainty in dealing with our subject; but I think it will be seen that, on the contrary, his language is remarkably clear and precise. The following sentences are from that one of his catechetical Sermons which immediately preceded his delivery of the symbol to the catechumens :—

Receive and keep that Creed only which is now delivered to thee by the Church, and is fortified † from all Scripture. For, since all cannot read the Scriptures, but some are hindered by ignorance, others by want of leisure, we receive the whole doctrine of the Faith in these few articles. . . . Now, hearing it word for word, remember the Creed, and at the proper time receive the confirmation (or comparison, *συστάσις*) of each point it contains from the Divine

* "Dogmengeschichte," vol. ii. p. 84.

† No one would suspect Dean Church of the least conscious bias, but his rendering of *ἐκχυρομένη* as "established," in the Oxford Library of the Fathers, conveys a stronger meaning than the original at any rate demands.

writings. For the Creed was not drawn up as it pleased men, but the most needful points chosen out of all Scripture make up the one teaching of the Faith.*

Two propositions come out very plainly from this account:—
 1. The whole contents of the Creed are to be found in Holy Writ; and
 2. The passages necessary to be believed are not left to individual selection, but are chosen and proposed as credenda by the Church. Dr. Swainson's attention has, perhaps not unnaturally, been attracted only to the former; and much of his confusion is due to not recognizing that both were taught by St. Cyril as well as by the Church before and after his day. A few examples will prove this. Origen lays down that the Kerygma of the Church contains nothing which is not to be found in Scripture; but he also asserts—"Illa sola credenda est veritas, quæ in nullo ab ecclesiastica et apostolica discordat traditione" (de Princ. Præf. 2). St. Augustine has written abundantly, as everyone knows, on the place of tradition and the authority of the Church; yet he also says explicitly—"In eis, quæ in Scripturis posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia quæ continent fidem, moresque vivendi, spem scilicet atque caritatem" (de Doct. Christ. cix.); while he sums up both these elements, which together make up the Rule of Faith, by saying:—"Consulat regulam fidei, quam ex Scripturarum planioribus locis et Ecclesiæ auctoritate percepit" (de Doct. Christ. iii.). Marcellus of Ancyra—to take only one more example—says in the apology to Pope Julius to which I have before referred, that he "both learned his Creed" (from the Church at his baptism. Caspari, iii. p. 30) "and was taught it from the Holy Scriptures." Canon Swainson expresses his satisfaction (apparently not unmixed with surprise) that St. Thomas considered the contents of the Creed were taken from the Scriptures, and not added to them. It would probably have seemed to him still more remarkable that such a zealous controversialist as Bellarmine should have held the same opinion, which is so general that the phrase "*compendium Scripturarum*" is an ordinary term for the Creeds.† It must be plain on consideration, even to any non-Catholic, that there is no contradiction between the two propositions which have been always held by the Church. On the one hand she maintains that there is nothing in any of the creeds that she puts forth which is not to be found in Scripture, either equivalently as in the Apostles' Creed, or textually, as in the later symbols. On the other hand she asserts, with at least as much warrant from antiquity, that the choice of the subjects to be included in a profession of faith can be made by no human authority, but that she selects them, and

* Catech. v. 12.

† Franzelin, de Trad. et Script. p. 228.

teaches their true meaning by the ministers of her divine prerogative. This is the true issue between ourselves and all who are without the Church—whether the Spirit of God is still in the world, teaching us infallibly and bestowing upon us the gift of faith. We in the nineteenth century can but repeat the language of the second :—

If the Apostles had not left the Scriptures to us, ought we not to follow the order of tradition, which they delivered to those to whom they committed the churches? This ordinance many barbarian races accept, who believe in Christ, having salvation written in their hearts by the Spirit, and diligently keeping the primitive tradition. . . . For where the Church is there too is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God there is the Church, and every grace; now the Spirit is truth.*

J. R. GASQUET.

ART. VI.—HENRIETTA MARIA, QUEEN CONSORT
OF ENGLAND.

MUCH valuable work has been done of late years in rescuing some of our Catholic forefathers from the accumulated mass of obloquy heaped upon them by one Protestant writer after another. Public documents and State papers are now accessible to all, and are year by year requisitioned, to tell their plain unvarnished tale, testifying to Catholic loyalty, under the dishonesty and greed of rulers who chose to call themselves *reformed*. But the voice of calumny still rings louder than the voice of truth, and many noble characters in the history of the last three hundred years still remain unvindicated. The Queen of Charles I. is one of these, for, in spite of "that fierce light which beats upon a throne," facts regarding her have been persistently misrepresented, and the Puritan vituperation of her own day continues to stand for history.

As the Stuarts are at the present moment attracting general attention, it may be well to give a short account of one who was the wife and mother of a Stuart, and who, deserving a better fate, was involved in the ruins of their luckless house. Of Henrietta Maria's detractors, the principal are Bishop Kennett, who describes her as "light, volatile, and of an inconsiderate temper"; Warburton, who calls her "that wicked woman"; and Isaac Disraeli,

* St. Irenæi iii., 4,¹1; 24, 1.

who says that "she was nothing more than a volatile woman, who had never studied, never reflected, and whom nature had formed to be charming and haughty, but whose vivacity could not retain even a State secret for an hour." Hallam echoes Warburton, and, writing of Charles I., speaks of the Queen as "that pernicious woman at his side."

But Disraeli, in his "Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I.," conceives Charles to have been a strong character, and calls him "firm and unyielding," whereas vacillation and obstinacy are the most salient points of all his dealings. Fascinating as are the "Commentaries," Disraeli's strange want of judgment in estimating his leading character puts him out of court when pleading against Henrietta Maria, even without the testimony of her contemporaries. These, some of them very competent witnesses, show that she was not volatile, not ignorant, not habitually indiscreet, not haughty; and that, if one or two instances of thoughtlessness at the utmost are on record, she always admitted and accused herself of them, proving, by those very slips, that her character was not light. The King himself, in the account of his troubles, says: "I do not think there exists any one wicked enough to hate the Queen for her own sake: her fault is in being my wife." Whether or no he was right, in attributing Henrietta's unpopularity to himself, there is no doubt that, in spite of her beauty, her grace of manner, and her marvellous voice, which might, says Madame de Motteville, "have made her the *prima donna* of Europe," Henrietta Maria not only failed to win the hearts of the people when she first landed in this country, but continued ever after to be most cordially hated by the Puritans. It is more probable that the parts were reversed, and that, without any fault of hers, the Queen contributed to her husband's ruin.

Charles and Buckingham had planned the Spanish alliance in opposition to James I. and in defiance of English prejudice. The Puritan abhorrence of Catholicism was not greater than the Puritan dread of Spain, so that when the marriage fell through, and a daughter of France was spoken of as the future Queen of England, the disqualification was reduced by half. Still the irritating principle was there, and was not slow to assert itself. They had escaped the jaws of Spain, but here was one who would willingly subjugate them to Rome if she could. It was enough to make them in their hearts reject an angel from heaven, and Henrietta Maria was no angel, but an exceedingly attractive woman, whose faults, slight though they were, were just those most calculated to excite the Puritan wrath. The mistakes of her extreme youth would in any ordinary person claim indulgence, if not pity; for it must be remembered that Henrietta was Queen of England before she was sixteen, and under circumstances that would have

proved difficult to a woman of mature age and knowledge of the world. But the petulance of the first few years of her marriage have been most severely remembered, while the self-sacrificing energy which she displayed in adversity has been either forgotten or made to tell against her.

We cannot in these pages attempt more than what may be called "a study for a larger picture," based on documents preserved in the Public Record Office, contemporary memoirs and letters from Henrietta Maria's own hand, and that of her ill-fated husband.

Born the 25th of November 1609, a few months before the knife of Ravallac had cut short the days of Henry the Fourth, "la petite Madame," as she was called, was her mother's favourite child, and the idol of the French Court. Of a naturally lively temperament, she possessed a certain shrewdness, and a fund of common sense which stood her in lieu of studiousness; and her straight, vigorous style of expressing herself, especially in writing, was entirely free from the affectation and pompous mannerism of the age which preceded that of the *Grand Monarque*. Madame de Motteville, in her Memoirs of Anne of Austria, says that Henrietta Maria was witty and charming, somewhat of a spoiled child, a little unequal, as the result of her early education, but that she was renowned for great goodness of heart, and was incapable of anything approaching to vindictiveness; that she loved moving about, fresh air, freedom, and bodily exercise.

Cardinal Maffei Barberini, her godfather, afterwards Pope Urban VIII., is said to have prophesied at her birth, that she would one day be a great queen. "When your Eminence is Pope," replied her mother, courteously.

Nevertheless, Urban VIII. had no desire that his goddaughter should be Queen of England, and withheld the dispensation for the mixed marriage as long as he could, hoping against hope, that the negotiation, like the Spanish alliance, might come to nought. Apart from religious motives, his knowledge of the English character caused him to fear the consequences of a union with Charles, and the state of the country, as reported by the English Catholics, was anything but satisfactory. The King, he knew, from a letter Charles had written to him in Spain, was well enough disposed towards the Church, was even ready to become a Catholic himself if he could do so with impunity, but to grant religious liberty to Catholics was, the Pope well knew, to risk the very existence of the Stuart dynasty. If, on the other hand, his fear of the Puritans led Charles to persecute the Catholics, what chance of happiness could there be for a Catholic queen? The sequel showed how well justified were these fears. The dispensation was wrenched from him by the impatience of Mary of Medici to see

her daughter seated on the throne of England, an impatience that was capable of dispensing with the dispensation altogether. To avoid the scandal of a daughter of France being married without the Apostolic blessing, His Holiness finally despatched the Brief, together with a letter to the French King, Louis XIII., Henrietta's brother. In this letter, the Pope declared that, if Henrietta's character did not cause him to hope that in becoming the queen of an heretical country she would be the guardian angel of her fellow Catholics, he would never have granted the Brief of Dispensation. In another letter, addressed to the young princess herself, he exhorted her to become the Esther of her persecuted people, the Clothilde who brought her victorious husband to Christ, the Audeberge whose marriage planted the Christian faith in England. "At this juncture," he added, "the eyes of the material and spiritual world are fixed upon you." It was carefully provided that the children of the marriage should be brought up in the Catholic faith, and the condition formally inserted in the marriage treaty that they should remain under their mother's care till the age of thirteen. Henrietta Maria, in her reply to the Pope, announced her firm intention of surrounding her children with none but Catholic instructors, and of providing for the welfare of her Catholic subjects.

Of all the pledges given by Charles, which enabled his young bride to place her future in his hands with a clear conscience, only one was redeemed. The royal children were, from their birth, brought up in the Protestant heresy, and, in spite of his promise that the English Catholics should be no more "searched after or molested for their religion," the fines, arrests, and imprisonments went on during the whole of his reign. In 1641 Father William Ward, and in 1642 Father Roe, a Benedictine monk, and a secular priest named Green, sometimes called Reynolds, were executed for their priesthood. The King's oath, "not to endeavour by any means at all to have his said Queen to renounce the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish religion, nor compel her to do anything whatsoever is contrary to the same religion," was alone respected.

If the marriage of Henrietta Maria with Charles I. was one of mutual inclination, its prospects of happiness seemed based on a still more solid foundation. The letter which her mother placed in her hands at the moment of their parting, censured by Miss Strickland as a monument of bigotry, put before her the highest possible considerations, reminding her of her immense responsibilities, and of her true position before God as a *creature* bound to give a strict account to her *Creator* of all the graces bestowed upon her. This letter is now incontestably proved to have been written by the Père de Bérulle.

Charles went to meet his bride at Dover, but the sea being rough, and the voyage delayed in consequence, he retired to Canterbury as soon as the vessel was sighted, in order to leave her time to recover from sea-sickness before the ordeal of their meeting. This detail seems to have been insisted on by the Queen Mother, who was anxious that Henrietta should make the best possible impression on her husband from the first. The next morning he rode to Dover, and surprised her at breakfast. Hearing that he had come, she ran downstairs, and would have kissed his hand, but he folded her in his arms. A pretty account of this first interview is contained in a letter which Charles wrote to Mary of Medici, some time afterwards :

At my first meeting her at Dover, I could not expect more testimony of love and respect than she showed me ; to give you one instance, her first request in private was, that she, being young and coming to a strange country, both by her years and ignorance of the customs, might commit many errors ; therefore she entreated that I would not be angry with her for her faults of ignorance, before I had with my instructions learned her to avoid them, and desired me in these cases to employ no third person, but to tell her myself when I found she did anything amiss. I both granted her request, and thanked her for it, but desired she would treat me as she asked me to treat her.

With such dispositions, the unhappiness of the first three years of their marriage could not have been entirely owing to Henrietta Maria's youth and ignorance, but was more probably due, in a great measure, to the harshness and obstinacy which so often accompany weakness of character, and to which Charles formed no exception. This appears to be the view taken by Mr. Gardiner, the most impartial, perhaps, of Henrietta's judges. Writing of the strained relations which soon followed this promising beginning, he says :—

Such a misunderstanding between a spirited child and a punctilious young husband, ten years older than herself, is only too easy to explain. Nor was the Queen without reason for complaint. She had come to England in the full persuasion that her presence could alleviate the lot of English Catholics. She had scarcely set foot in the island when she learned that the orders which were to have saved them from the penalties of the law had been countermanded. Is it not probable that, if the secrets of those early days of married life could be rendered up, we should hear of the young wife's stormy upbraidings of the man who had beguiled her into taking upon herself the marriage vow by promises which he now found it convenient to repudiate ? *

The formation of the young Queen's mind could hardly have

* "History of England," vol. v. p. 376.

been a difficult or disagreeable task, if her husband had displayed a little less of what he chose to consider firmness, and a little more tact.

There is an amusing story told of a quarrel between the two, which is too characteristic of the kind of deadlock which would sometimes take place in those days, to be omitted here. At the opening of Parliament, February 6, 1626, arrangements had been made for the Queen to witness the procession from one of the windows of the banquetting hall at Whitehall. When all had been settled, it occurred to Charles that the occasion presented an admirable opportunity for separating her from her French attendants, of whom he was, reasonably or unreasonably, prodigiously jealous. He, therefore, intimated his desire that she should take her place in a balcony where the old Countess of Buckingham was already seated. Henrietta appeared at first to agree to this, but afterwards declared that it was raining, and begged to be excused from going out into the street in the rain. Charles insisted that it did not rain, but his words effected nothing, and he sent for his favourite, Buckingham, to bring the Queen to reason. Buckingham coolly asked him how he expected to be obeyed by his Parliament if he could not secure the obedience of his wife. It was only by the intervention of the French Ambassador that Henrietta allowed the favourite, no friend to her, to lead her across the road. By this time, however, she appears to have become penitent, for when Charles, who had not tact enough to rest satisfied with his victory, ordered her further to come down from the window at which she was seated, she obeyed with great sweetness. After this the King sulked for three days, at the end of which Henrietta sought him out, and asked him in what she had offended. He was so taken by surprise that, for the moment, he knew not what to answer.

"You told me it rained, when it did not rain," he replied, doggedly.

"I should never have thought that to be an offence," said the Queen, "but if you think so, I will think so too."

Her husband's ill-temper was not proof against so much meekness; he took her in his arms, kissed her, and the reconciliation was complete. But there could be no permanent concord between them while Henrietta looked for the fulfilment of his promises. He had undertaken more than it was in his power to carry out, but, instead of attributing his domestic troubles to their real cause, Charles laid the blame on the interference of the Queen's French household, and determined to rid himself of the foreigners. It was scarcely possible that their presence should not create difficulties at every step. The Puritans did not cease to call the Queen "a daughter of Heth, a Canaanite, an

idolatress," and naturally her French attendants were an abomination to them.

The High Church party were scarcely more conciliatory at first. When Charles dined with the Queen at Somerset House, his chaplain would manœuvre to say grace before the French Abbé. Henrietta complained that the King obliged her to tolerate Protestant worship in her establishment, for her English attendants, while at the same time English Catholics were not allowed to hear Mass in her chapel. Everything combined to create dissensions; Henrietta was disappointed, Charles irritated.

Her refusal to be crowned with her husband did not mend matters with the King, and set the seal to her unpopularity. Charles entreated in vain; she would not even be present at the ceremony, in a latticed box in Westminster Abbey, but witnessed the procession at the bay window over the gate-house at Whitehall. The people were furious, for ranting preachers were not slow to declare that the "idolatress" scorned their crown, and cared little for the proud title of Queen of England. In those days there was probably some difficulty in obtaining permission to be present at Protestant religious ceremonies, just as there would be in Ireland now. There was indeed some stiffness with regard to this matter, on both sides. When Henrietta Maria was married at Notre Dame, before her departure for England, the King's proxy did not enter the church, but the marriage took place at the door, and afterwards the Queen heard the nuptial Mass, while the proxy, the Duke de Chevreuse remained in the sacristy. The fact is curious, because, although the Duke de Chevreuse was a Catholic, he represented the King of England, who was not, and was therefore obliged to comport himself as Charles would have done. "The opinion of the French Court," says Mr. Gardiner "was that no harm would be done if the Queen submitted to coronation, provided that none of the Protestant clergy took any part in the ceremony."*

With true Anglican inconsistency, Miss Strickland, in dealing with this question, remarks:—

Had she attended her husband's coronation, and listened to the oath imposed upon him, she would have found that this ceremonial, which she loathed as Huguenot, obliged him to keep the Church of England in the same state as did Edward the Confessor. The most liberal manner of construing this oath must have been that the English people required that, whatsoever monarch they invested with the power of king and head of the Church, he should use that power to keep the Church of England as near the model of the Anglo-Saxon Church as possible.†

* "History of England," vol. vi. p. 48.

† "Lives of the Queens of England," vol. v. p. 224.

In a foot-note, she further observes :—

Lest readers should actually consider the coronation oath taken by all the Anglo-Stuart sovereigns (till the era of Mary II.) as a positive act of insanity, both as regards the sovereigns and their people, it is needful to remind them that the primitive Church of England under Edward the Confessor (cited in the oath as the model for the guidance of the British sovereigns in the seventeenth century) allowed of the marriage of the secular clergy, and of the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue. It must be remembered, too, that James I. took the oath as he found it, and as his predecessors had taken it. If the people of England had desired the alteration or modification of this oath, never could Providence have presented a fairer opportunity, since James entered England unarmed, and was utterly in the power of the nation—no great proof of his cowardice, it must be owned.

The weakness of this reasoning is at least as great as its apparent insincerity. If we were not acquainted with the delusions of the Ritualistic party in the Church of England, we should declare it to be impossible that any honest Protestant in his senses, could imagine that the Church of England, in the reign of Charles I. bore the slightest resemblance to the Church of Edward the Confessor. The very Abbey of Westminster, in which the oath was taken, was in itself a standing proof of the immensity of the change that had taken place. Built originally by the Confessor, by order of Pope Leo, in commutation of his vow to perform a pilgrimage to Rome, it was a monument of that Papal authority recognized by St. Edward, and now repudiated by king and people. Once the home of Benedictine piety and learning, its arches no longer echoed to the chanting of the Divine office, for the monks had been driven forth, and, instead of the august Sacrifice of the Mass, Protestant divines reviled the worship for which it had been founded as blasphemy and idolatry. The great gulf fixed between the Church of Edward the Confessor, and the Church of the Anglo-Stuarts, which is the actual Church of England of our days, by law established, could scarcely be better defined, than by the two points of similarity quoted by Miss Strickland, points not of doctrine, but of Church discipline—her statement of one of them containing, by implication, a falsehood.

Notwithstanding the King's failure to keep his promises, from the year 1628 Henrietta Maria seems to have resolved to look only on the good side of her lot, and to make the best of her husband. He had sent away her French household, in a fit of anger, and the Puritans triumphed at the Queen's discomfiture. But Buckingham was no longer alive to fan the flames of discord, and Henrietta's good sense prevailed over disappointment, want of sympathy with her English surroundings, and aversion to the

English tongue. A less happily constituted character might almost have despaired ; the gravity of her position was extreme. Her children were baptized by Protestant clergymen and brought up in heresy ; the Catholics persecuted in order to curry favour with the Puritans ; and, while the King was so weak that he invariably yielded where he should have held his ground firmly, he obstinately maintained that which it would nearly always have been far wiser to concede. Henrietta, with her quick wit, was not able to close her eyes to her husband's faults, but she clung to him in spite of them, and was more devoted to his best interests than he was himself.

Mrs. Everett Green, to whom we owe the discovery of so many of the Queen's letters, and whose care in editing them has thrown so much light on the domestic history of the reign of Charles I., is not without appreciation of Henrietta's character. She says : " In strength and firmness of mind, the daughter of Henri Quatre far surpassed her husband, and these letters clearly show how earnestly she endeavoured to support the vacillating mind of the King, and to lead him to adopt vigorous and decisive measures."

Charles was not ungrateful for all that she did for him, but he was incapable of profiting by advice that would have necessitated straightforwardness, resolution, and constancy. His letters to the Queen are full of such passages as these : " God knows I have but little comfort, and that little must come from thee." It was her fate to struggle through life for a losing cause ; she could neither save the English Catholics from persecution, nor her husband from himself, nor her children from heresy, nor herself from the hatred of the people, so that she had good reason to style herself, as she did, in later years, "*la reine malheureuse*."

The royal children had a Protestant tutor of moderate views, but the Queen took them to Mass with her whenever she could. It was the height of their ambition to go to the Queen's chapel ; but their tutor was bound to take them to the Protestant service. Sometimes compromises were made. " Imitate the King, and go to the sermon," the little Princess Mary would say to the Prince of Wales, " and I will imitate the Queen and go to Mass." Not unfrequently, Charles would pace up and down a corridor with windows looking down into the chapel while Mass was being said, and would pause at one of the windows, in deep meditation, as if following the priest. More than once in the course of his life he seemed on the eve of a return to the bosom of the Catholic Church.

It was from fear of what has been called aptly " the excited Protestantism of the country," and from expediency, never conviction, that Charles persecuted the Catholics. He was averse to

inflicting capital punishment, to which the laws of the land condemned "massing priests," but everything short of death seemed to him permissible to save himself from the vituperation heaped upon him by the Puritans. Several priests condemned to the gallows were saved by Henrietta's intercession, for, though she could do nothing to ameliorate the condition of her fellow Catholics in general, her husband's affection for her was so great, that he would often listen to her pleading for individuals.

Archbishop Laud shared the King's terror of the Puritans. Accused of friendship with Rome, his only resource was to play the pursuivant to practising Catholics. With a great show of zeal in the Protestant cause, he declared that the Queen's chapel at Somerset House must be closed against English subjects.

After long negotiation, Henrietta Maria obtained that a Catholic agent should represent her interests and those of her English co-religionists at Rome, and that a Papal Envoy should be first secretly, then openly, accredited at her Court. Charles was already in such difficulties that he was willing to consent to anything likely to be of the least help to him. He was just as ready to pay compliments to the Pope, if anything were to be gained by flattering his Catholic subjects, as to fine and imprison Catholics. Although he had a taste for piety, he had, properly speaking, no convictions; hence a host of misapprehensions as to his real meaning.

The first of the Papal emissaries was Gregorio Panzani, an Italian priest, and secretary to Cardinal Barberini. Panzani was sent to England in 1634, and he remained till the end of the year 1636. He was then replaced by George Conn, a Scotchman and a layman, of brilliant parts, great tact and prudence, a *persona grata* to the King, and possessing all the necessary qualifications for bringing about an understanding between the Pope and Charles, if there had been on the part of Charles any serious desire for such an understanding. Conn was succeeded by Rossetti, a Roman nobleman, who, by reason of the increasing power of the Roundheads, was obliged to fly for his life in 1641.

Panzani landed in England full of enthusiasm, "hoping all things, believing all things." He imagined that it would be easy to obtain liberty of conscience, if nothing were said about the restitution of ecclesiastical property, and he sent a list to Cardinal Barberini, of all the Protestant bishops in the country, with their ages and an epitome of their religious views. According to him, the greater number were well inclined to Catholicism, and were in favour of a reunion with Rome. The question of a reconciliation of the whole country to the Catholic Church was then causing some agitation. In the letters written in cipher by the envoys to Cardinal Barberini, the object dreamed of, one sees,

was nothing short of a reunion of England with Rome. "L'unione del paese colla Chiesa" is an ever recurring phrase; and in a conversation between Panzani and Cottington, Panzani observed that the "true means of bringing about a reunion, was to examine the motives which had actuated Henry VIII. in causing a schism." Both Panzani and Conn were optimists, and made the mistake of thinking that the King's party represented the nation, which might, as it were, be converted *en bloc*. A conversion such as had restored England to the Catholic Church under Mary Tudor was the kind of reunion which they contemplated, and imagined to be still possible. Within the Church of England many shared this hope. Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, went so far as to ask Panzani's permission to keep a priest in his house, that he might say Mass for him daily. It was also thought that many clergymen hesitated to marry, in order that they might keep their livings in case of a reconciliation with Rome. Laud's attitude led naturally to misconceptions on all sides. One of the charges brought against him at his trial, was that he had a "damnable plot to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome."

Panzani's admiration of the Queen's character and bearing is expressed in a letter which he wrote to Cardinal Barberini a few months after his arrival:—

Her Majesty is so timid that she blushes like a young girl when she is in the presence of strangers. Father Philip (her confessor) says that she has never committed any sin, other than those of omission, on which, however, he is very severe. When she goes to confession and communion, she edifies her confessor and everybody else by her fervour. None but women are allowed to enter her bedchamber (a remarkable exception in days when courtiers, wits, and fine gentlemen claimed the privilege of assisting at the *lever de la reine*). She sometimes retires with her ladies and amuses herself with light but innocent pastimes. Sometimes she suffers from melancholy, and then she is fond of silence. When sad, she prays earnestly to God. Of the future she thinks little, and trusts the King implicitly. It would be well if she took more pains to conciliate the Ministers of State, whom she might influence if she wished.

On another occasion he writes:—

It does not surprise me that people speak ill of the Queen respecting plays, for others speak ill of her respecting her religion. Father Philip tells me, that since she has been in England, she has not been to the English play, even counting those acted by Frenchmen, more than four times, and *incognita*. He also tells me that here the plays are quite moral, and that one day a well-known Catholic lady, finding fault with the Queen because she drove out on days of Communion, he had replied smiling, "And do not you go to the theatre on days of

Communion?" The lady was astonished, and considered his reply altogether irrelevant, for here it is thought quite right to frequent plays, and yet these Catholics are scandalized by every trifle. I see nothing to find fault with in the Queen. Last Sunday, being indisposed, she could not as usual go to the sermon, but she ordered me to preach one in her domestic chapel.

Panzani was greatly impressed with the difference between English and Italian customs. He writes:—

I had a long talk the other day with Windebank (Secretary of State), and speaking of the pastoral play lately acted, he began to praise the "Pastor Fido" exceedingly. I replied that this work was the cause of great injury to youth, and on that account the wisest Catholics did not allow young girls to read it. He replied that in this country young girls do not only read the same kind of books, but even the Bible and all books of controversy, in the vulgar tongue, whence arise the greatest evils.

In spite of the penal laws against recusants, and the rigour with which they were enforced, so that Catholics were forced to send their children beyond the seas, to be brought up in the faith of their fathers, they were still a power in the kingdom which Charles at least by no means despised. In a population of rather less than 300,000 souls, the Catholics, says Mr. Gardiner, numbered 150,000; and Ranke estimates that in 1636 there might be counted in England five hundred secular priests, three hundred ecclesiastics belonging to the great orders, and about one hundred and sixty Jesuits. On high festivals, the Queen appeared in her public chapel, which was served by Capuchins in the dress of their order. The great mass of the people, robbed of their religion in the preceding reigns, had remained untouched, as indeed they have to this day, by its empty substitute the Established Church of England. Panzani, writing to Cardinal Barberini, August 28, 1636, says:—

Truly, it would make stones weep to hear these poor citizens, when they see the chapel at Holmby: they look at it again and again, and after they have well considered it, one says to another, "What evil thing is done in this chapel? Where are the great scandals that we have heard say are given by the Catholics, with their altars?" Others, after heaving a profound sigh, say, "Once we had these beautiful things in our churches." Some stay to hear Mass and the Litanies, and I have seen there the Minister of the Palace himself. Our hostess, indeed, though all Northampton is considered most Puritanical, readily allows me to say Mass, and willingly gives the lights and wine, and says that we may still perform our devotions, and confesses that we are more assiduous and discreet than the Puritans. And because the minister in his preaching exhorts to confession, she asked counsel from Signor Giorgio (Conn), who told her that confession is good, but that

it must be made to a true priest, and not to an unordained minister, to which words she answered with a sigh. And on this subject, I will not conceal from you, what a servant said one evening to my young men in London. Having seen the cover of the Mass book, on which was painted a beautiful crucifix, with other sacred images, she said, "I believe that your religion is also good, and I believe that it is the best." Indeed, I know that what some one said to me is true, at least as regards the populace, that they are not *heretics*, but badly instructed Christians. May it please God with vivifying rays, to enlighten the King and his Ministers, that these poor souls may come forth out of darkness.

Conn's enthusiasm was not less than Panzani's:—

I hope much from the King's goodness [he wrote], but there is no confidence to be placed in his Ministers.

Charles appears to have treated Conn very kindly, conversing with him familiarly on a variety of subjects, but chiefly with reference to the oath of supremacy. Sometimes the Queen would enter, and, seeing them absorbed in conversation, would retire without letting herself be seen. In like manner, the King would withdraw if he found her giving audience to Conn. She hoped great things from the cordial understanding which seemed to exist between her husband and the Envoy.

Conn's first cipher to Cardinal Barberini ran as follows:—

Reports having been spread by the Spanish Ambassador, to the effect that I had come to England to receive the King into the Church, and the King having heard them, he was at first a little taken aback, but soon after he observed: "This is pure malice, but it will do no harm." It was clearly done to place obstacles to this negotiation, and to create discord between the King of England and the Queen. God has however turned it all to good, and the King desired to see me immediately after my audience with Her Majesty. Then followed demonstrations from all the nobility. I said that our Master had sent me to bear his paternal blessing to the Queen, and to serve her, and that His Holiness prayed God to grant to the King's Majesty true happiness, adding all those good wishes proper to His Holiness to express and agreeable to His Majesty to hear. The King then looked at me, and regretted the dissensions, which prevented a perfect understanding; he praised the knowledge, prudence, and benevolence of His Holiness and Cardinal Barberini, saying that such virtues would do much for the peace and union of Christendom. For these ends, I replied, the Pope and the Cardinal would spend their lives. The King then spoke of me to the Queen somewhat to my confusion. The Queen then desiring to discuss the matter your Eminence knows of, I returned thanks for the honour done to your Eminence, observing, however, that I had no orders on that subject. Wherever the Queen goes, the chapel is put in order, remains open, and is visited by the

whole neighbourhood. If things go on as they have begun, we shall not be badly off.

A little later on he writes again :—

The other day, Mr. Windebank discussed with me the great jealousy which this intercourse between His Holiness and the Queen causes to France and Spain. I replied that the fact could not be denied, but that if such a small matter produced such an effect, what would be the result of a complete union between Rome and England. He remarked that this could not be called a small matter, for it was a marvel that it had been brought about at all. He attributed everything to the good dispositions of the King, who shows such readiness to please the Queen. . . . I am astonished that Her Majesty, with all her affection for France, has had the prudence not to give the least inkling of what is going on.

The sentiments of friendship and cordiality expressed by Charles towards the Pope, misled the Envoy into the most sanguine hopes. But courtesy was as much a part of the King's policy as shuffling was, for while he was making amiable speeches to Conn, he was at the same time trying to eke out his income by fining his Catholic subjects, and his credit with the Puritans by throwing recusants into prison. At the very moment that he was regretting "the dissensions which prevented a perfect understanding with Rome," an order was issued by the King in Council to further molest Catholics within his realm.

Certain merchant strangers residing at Dover, being of the Romish religion, by Popish priests christen their children in their own houses, to the great scandal of the religion professed by the Church of England. The King's learned counsel are to consider how far the same merchant strangers may be proceeded against by law, and to make certificate thereof.*

Amidst so much public insincerity, it is refreshing to turn to the family life of the King and Queen, the only side in which the character of Charles is seen in a good light. The description which Conn gives in the following letter is pretty :—

The celebration of the Queen's birthday, which occurred last week, was transferred to the following day, by reason of the public fast observed throughout the kingdom every Wednesday.† I did not fail on this occasion to remind Her Majesty of the paternal affection which His Holiness feels for her, and your Eminence's congratulations were cordially received. The Queen's Majesty was dressed simply in black, although the King and all the Court were in gala; but on the 19th, the King's birthday, Her Majesty joined in the festivities, attired in embroideries and jewels, while the King appeared in black.

* "Calendar of State Papers: Charles I., Dec. 18, 1636."

† On account of the Plague.

The Queen has entered on her twenty-eighth, the King on his thirty-seventh year, in the enjoyment of the best health and universal applause. The day before yesterday I went to Court, to take leave of the Queen's Majesty, who was setting out with the King for Richmond; but it fell to me to attend her, and I had the immense consolation of witnessing the joy of the little princes at the arrival of their majesties. In the evening all dined together, the Prince and the Duke of York by the side of the King, the Princess Mary sitting by the Queen. The Princess Elizabeth being still very little, did not appear at table. I admire daily more and more the mutual affection of their majesties, and their remarkable simplicity, such as becomes any well-brought-up private gentleman.

When Count Rossetti replaced Conn in 1639, optimism, as regarded public affairs, was out of date. The tone of the Envoy's letters is anything but hopeful. The royal dignity was a wreck, and the royal word no longer trusted. Need of money pressed hard, and Henrietta was chiefly occupied in negotiating funds. In the spring of the following year, Rossetti wrote to Cardinal Barberini:—

They have threatened to burn my house down, and to do me further damage. The Queen-mother, hearing of it, has again deigned to show me rooms for myself and my brother, in her palace, as would also the Queen of England, were it not for fear of irritating the Puritans still more. At this moment the archbishop's house, set fire to this morning, is in flames.

All Catholics who were able, made themselves ready to fly. On the 23rd of January 1641 the Queen sailed from Dover, with the double object of conducting the Princess Mary, who had been married to the eldest son of the Prince of Orange, to Holland, and of raising money on the Crown jewels, for the purpose of supplying Charles with ammunition of war. Once at the Hague, she lost no time in idle ceremonial or State festivities, but set about her husband's business at once.

Meanwhile Charles had proceeded to York, but the Parliamentarians were in possession of Hull, and of its important magazine. But Henrietta despatched the ship *Providence*, stored with arms and ammunition, with the immediate result that an engagement was entered into by forty-six lords and great officers of State "not to submit to the orders of the two Houses, but to defend his Majesty's Crown, person, and life."

The following letter from the Queen to Charles presents a striking contrast between her fortitude and love of *purpose* and her husband's miserable wavering policy:—

My dear Heart,—It was with no small joy that I received your letter, for you were arrived at York a fortnight before I received

tidings from you, but all at once I have had two newspapers. Sir William Baladin having been driven back by the tempest three times, the other at last overtook him, and they came together. I am extremely glad to hear that you have been so well received at York, and that you find the country so well affected. Take advantage of it, and lose no time; you know that the affection of the people changes like the wind, therefore you should make good use of it while it lasts. You have a precedent before you, for the Parliament will make use of it. As to what you write me, that everybody dissuades you concerning Hull, from taking it by force, unless the Parliament begins—is it not beginning by putting persons into it against your orders? If you wait for it to be done publicly, otherwise than that, you will be ruined altogether, and as for the assurance you have of Scotland, I have many doubts about it, for I hear that Argyle and the others, who are, I believe, rather for the Parliament, have regiments on foot, to go to Ireland. Believing that you are going to Scotland, they design to have their people on foot, in order to make them now do what they wish. Take good care about it, and try to despatch them to Ireland before going, if it be possible. If you have the people of Yorkshire, as assured to you, as you found, take advantage of it, whilst they are in good temper; at the beginning, people can do things about which in the end they grow cool, and then they can no longer be done. There is no more room for repentance. For my part, I think that the Parliament believes that you are constantly expecting an accommodation; in fact, that they would draw back themselves perhaps to what they would desire, if they saw you in action, and that else perhaps they would speak after another fashion. For you, having Hull, is not beginning anything violent, for it is only against the rascal who refuses it you.* As to money, I am at work; I must send into Denmark, for in the meantime, they will lend nothing upon your rubies. Nevertheless, I will put all my jewels in pledge, but as to you, when that is done, and you have expended that money, still waiting till the Parliament declares war against you, there will be no further means of getting other monies; and thus you will be reduced to do what the Parliament shall please, and I shall be constrained to retire into a convent, or to beg alms. Also, it is to be feared, that the Parliament will take a path more moderate in appearance, but in effect worse for you; wherefore that ought to be well considered. A report is current here, that you will grant the militia for one year, but your letter relieves me from that fear, for you assure me of the contrary. Continue in your resolutions, and pardon me if I have written a little too much on this subject by Ringfield. My whole hope lies in your firmness and constancy, and when I hear anything to the contrary, I am mad. Pardon once again my folly and weakness. I confess it. That letter of which you speak, and which you sent to me, concerning accommodation, is so insupportable that I have burnt it with joy. Such a thing

* Sir John Hotham, who refused the King admittance.

is not to be thought of, it is only trifling and losing time. Think, that if you had not stopped, our affairs would perhaps be in a better state than they are, and you would at this moment have Hull. This is only as an example of what I say, and not to reproach you for that which is over. As to your having passed tonnage and poundage, I confess that it is against my opinion, for it is only for them and not for you, but I submit. . . . I have nothing more to say, except ever to urge upon you constancy and resolution, for it must be by these that we emerge from our miseries. . . . Since you are there, you must above all try to have a safe sea-port, for without that you can have no correspondence with me, nor can I send you money. If you are forced to get Hull by force, assuredly you will need some powerful aid, for besieging places. The Prince of Orange will send you some if you wish it. As fast as I write something always comes into my head; but adieu, I have such a toothache that I scarcely know what I am doing.—The Hague, 16th April 1642.*

In advocating "firmness and constancy," Henrietta might as well have been preaching to the wind.

Later on there is a touching passage in one of her letters, showing the truly royal and noble nature with which she was endowed:—

I wish to share all your fortune [she writes], and participate in your troubles as I have done in your happiness, provided it be with honour, and in your defence; for to die of consumption of royalty is a death which I cannot endure, having found, by experience, the malady too insupportable.

Nevertheless, Henrietta was neither impatient nor rebellious against the decrees of Providence. "God is above all" was her favourite thought and refuge.

The space at our command forbids us to dwell on her return to England, her landing at Burlington Bay in Yorkshire, in spite of a violent tempest, and the hail of Parliamentary shot and shell with which she was greeted. She brought with her money and arms, and was on that account declared a traitor by the Parliament, and a price was put upon her head.

In July 1643 she marched with a strong detachment from York, and took Burton-upon-Trent by storm. Her courage and resolution reanimated the King's party; it was the happiest moment of the whole war. Their majesties effected a junction at Edgehill, and the following day entered Oxford in triumph. But for the Queen, Charles would certainly have died of the "consumption of royalty," without one manly struggle in self-defence. The daughter of Henry IV. could see no virtue in

* "Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria," edited by Mrs. Everett Green, p. 244.

sullen endurance. If the cause was good, it was worth fighting for: this is the sum and substance of all her advice to Charles.

But, although they entered Oxford in triumph, Henrietta's departure from that city was more like a flight. Already the tide was turning, and Charles was fearful lest, in the event of a siege, the Queen should fall into the hands of her enemies. She arrived as far as Exeter, on her way to the coast, when she fell so seriously ill as to be obliged to stop there. From thence she wrote to the King:—

EXETER, 18th June, 1614.

My dear Heart,—There are so few opportunities of writing, that I will not lose this one, which is, I believe, the last time that I shall write to you before my confinement. . . . My weakness, caused by the cruel suffering I have undergone since I left you, which cannot be expressed or understood, except by those who have suffered them, causes me to believe that it is time for me to think of another world than this. The will of God be done. He has already done so much for us, and assists us so visibly in all our affairs, that certainly as He pleases to dispose of me, will be for your good and for mine. I have many things to say to you, but the roads are so little sure, that I do not dare to confide them to this letter. I only beg you to believe what Lord Jermyn and Father Philip tell you from me, if anything happens to me. It is a great consolation to me to have written this. Do not let it distress you; you know how much reason I have to fear, from my last confinement, but to hope also. To prepare oneself always for the *worst*, ensures one against surprises, and makes one find the *best* more delightful. Adieu, my dear Heart. I still hope to see you in the position you ought to be in, before I leave you. God grant it. I confess that I desire it, and to be able to render you some further service.

On the 16th of June she gave birth to her youngest child, the Princess Henrietta, at Exeter, and as soon as she was able to travel, set out for Falmouth. The journey was extremely dangerous, that part of the country being already beset by the enemy, who had tidings of her whereabouts, and were keeping a sharp outlook for her. Once a party of marauders passed close to a hut in which she lay concealed, and once, unknown to each other at the time, the King and Queen were in close proximity. She, however, reached Truro finally in safety, and wrote the following letter to Charles from that place:—

My dear Heart,—This letter is to bid farewell to you; if the wind is favourable, I shall start to-morrow. Henry Seymour will give you many messages from me, my miserable condition not allowing me to write. I beg you to send him to me in France, where, if God permits me to recover my health, I still hope to serve you. The last proof I can give you of my devotion is to risk my life in order not to place any obstacle to your affairs. Adieu, my dear Heart. If I die,

believe that you lose a person who has always been entirely yours, and who has deserved, by her affection, that you should not forget her. —Truro, July 9th, 1644.

For the greater safety of both, Henrietta left her infant daughter behind her, to the care of the Countess of Morton, who, when the child was six months old, took her to her mother, disguised as a peasant boy. She was the only one of the King's children who was brought up a Catholic, and is known in history as "la belle Henriette," was married to Gaston, Duke of Orleans, and immortalized by Bossuet's celebrated "Oraison funèbre."

Madame de Motteville, in her memoirs, says that when Henrietta Maria returned to her native land, she was so disfigured by illness and trouble, that scarcely any traces remained of her former beauty. She was thin and small, her figure having lost its charm, and her mouth, always her worst point, had become large from the extreme thinness of her face. As her comeliness had only lasted the space of a morning, and had left her before noon, she always used to say that a woman's beauty faded after twenty-two.

To complete my remembrance of her [continues Madame de Motteville]. I must add that she was extremely intelligent, and possessed that brilliant *esprit* so attractive to her surroundings. In society she was agreeable, polite, gentle and easy, treating without ceremony those who had the honour to approach her. She was naturally inclined to liveliness, and if something amusing were said, she would look up, in the midst of a fit of weeping, and dry her tears. The almost continued suffering which made her grave, and gave her a great contempt for this life, rendered her character more estimable than perchance it might have been, if she had only known prosperity. She was generous, and those who had known her in her good fortune said that she had exhausted her treasures in doing good to those she loved.

Sad as was the exiled Queen at this time, her spirit was not broken; nor was she "dying of the consumption of royalty" any more than when there was a hope of its cure. The following letter from Charles was a tribute to her unfailing energy and good sense:—

Dear Heart,—I must needs begin by telling thee that kindness came never more seasonably to man, than thine to me this week by thy despatches (sent by Montreul, Lesley, Davenant, and Mowbray), the various expressions of thy love clearly showing the excellency of thy affection, and, at this time, when I am generally condemned of wilfulness, and even by thyself, yet to be still the same to me, doth infallibly demonstrate the excellency of thy affection, and I hope to make it evident to thee that I am neither faulty nor singular in my opinions, except other men's base fears be a good argument against me

(I do not by this mean any who are with thee), and I am sure the Queen will not like me the worse that threats have no power to persuade me against my reason or conscience. Now, as for answer to thine by Montreul, first, I thank thee for taking the pains to put it all in cypher thyself, then I give thee order to treat for any of those three marriages for Prince Charles which you mentioned, as thou shalt find best for my business, upon consultation with Jermyn, Culpepper, and Ashburnham. Next, whereas the Queen says [I assure you, *mon cher cœur*, que si n'estait la passion que j'ai pour vous, I should desire to retire myself from all business estant trop franche dans mes opinions, but I will endure all if you think it for your service]. These being the Queen's own words, I do not only thank thee for the kindness of them, but must also bind thee to the promise in them. (For, I assure thee, both I and all my children are ruined if thou shouldst retire from my business.) Wherefore, I conjure thee, by thy love to me (if I knew a greater I would name it), that thou wilt never retire thyself from my business so long as I have a child alive, whatsoever becomes of me, and that thou wilt give me the contentment to be confirmed in the assurance of this by thy next letter to me. As to the latter part of it, I remit thee to the enclosed note, which I desire thee to decypher thyself.—Newcastle, July 15, 1646.

Another letter of the King's is no less interesting, in reply to one from Henrietta, urging him to pursue some definite plan and to concede to the demands of the Scotch with regard to Presbyterian government.

Dear Heart,—Albeit the Irish peace will take away the question whether Presbyterian government shall be granted by me or not (for, as I did formerly tell thee, that alone hinders all accommodation infallibly), yet I cannot but return thine own words upon thee, which is to desire thee not to let the Queen be surprised by false hopes that if the Scots be satisfied in religion they will make me a great and glorious King, for, believe me, they care nothing for religion but as it makes for their damnable ends, for proof of which I will remit thee to my next. Only I must tell thee that the Queen will break my heart if she any more undertakes to obtain my consent for Presbyterian government (to which end I know all possible art and industry will be used), for if she once should openly condemn me of wilfulness, but in one point, I should not be able to support my miseries.—Newcastle, Oct. 3, 1646.

This is one of the last letters Charles wrote to the Queen, for all intercourse ceased between them in the year 1646. Henrietta, however, never abandoned him. When he was removed to the Isle of Wight she organized an attempt to rescue him, and when it failed she applied for a safe-conduct, in order that she might go to him and console his last moments. This, to the eternal shame of Cromwell, was refused.

Madame de Motteville says that, having received the news

that her husband had perished on the scaffold—"elle en a porté un deuil perpétuel et sur sa personne et dans son cœur"—she ceased almost to exist for the world; but prayer, works of charity, and the education of her daughter henceforth filled her life. She founded the Convent of the Visitation at Chaillot, and would often retire there for long periods. Twenty years after her husband's death, she herself was laid there to rest.

At one time she practised a more acute and actual form of poverty than her nuns of the Visitation, for it is related that one very cold day a visitor found both the Queen of England and the Princess Henrietta in bed because they had no fire at which to warm themselves. The royal family of France, harassed and impoverished by the war of the *Fronde*, were powerless to help their unfortunate kinswoman.

According to Madame de Motteville, when the English Court, composed of the young King Charles II., his mother, and the great English nobles who had followed them into exile, was established at St. Germain, scarcely any Frenchmen went to pay their respects to the Queen of England and her son, although the French King and his family befriended them to the best of their ability. They had no favours to grant; they had only crowns without power, and no means to do any one any good. The writer of the "Memoirs" moralizes, with a somewhat amusing complacency, on the situation of the exiles. "Comparing their former exalted position," she says, "with their actual privations, such variety constitutes the beauty of the universe, for, if the greatness of kings were not subject to reverse of fortune, they would no longer be men. We should, therefore, admire the power of God in the weakness of His most illustrious creatures, and in the height to which it pleases Him to raise them."

There are two beautiful portraits of Henrietta Maria in the present "Stuart Exhibition," a celebrated Van Dyck and a Claude Le Fevre, one representing her in all the spring and bloom of her incomparable youth, the other as a worn, grief-stricken, and faded woman, when she held her lustreless Court at St. Germain. In the picture painted by Van Dyck, she is seated, her left arm resting on a table, and she wears a blue dress studded with jewels. A radiant expression is on her face, roses lie on her lap, and an *amorino* hovers above, about to place a crown on her head. But all the charm of this picture is not equal to the interest which centres in Le Fevre's fine portrait. The soul that looks out of the once beautiful eyes is calm, with a peace triumphant over sorrow. There is not one ignoble line in the whole face, and we know that

"The face is wax beneath the seal of a life."

J. M. STONE.

ART. VII.—THE ORIGINS OF THE CHURCH OF EDESSA.

Les Origines de l'Eglise d'Edesse et la Légende d'Abgar : Etude Critique. Par L. J. TIXERONT, Prêtre de S. Sulpice, Professeur au Grand Séminaire de Lyon. Paris : Maisonneuve et Leclerc. 1888.

Les Origines de l'Eglise d'Edesse et des Eglises Syriennes. Par J. P. P. MARTIN, Professeur à l'Ecole Supérieure de Théologie de Paris. Paris : Maisonneuve et Leclerc. 1889.

CARDINAL WISEMAN only gave expression to an immemorial tradition of the Church when, in his beautiful "Hidden Gem," he made his hero Alexius describe the "famed Edessa" in rapturous words as the chief seat of Eastern Christian learning :

Because each nation hath a home
Within its walls, Syrians, Armenians, Persians,
There pass their youth in quest of varied lore.
From many fountains elsewhere issue rills
Of letters and of science. . . .
But in Edessa these all flow alike
Into one deep yet crystal cistern.

As M. Tixeront well points out, Edessa occupied in this respect a unique position, corresponding to her happy geographical situation. By this she was placed just at the meeting point of two civilizations, the Greek and the Oriental. "Communicating on the one side with Antioch, upon which she depended, on the other with Persia, the Greater Armenia, and even with India, the capital of Osroene was well placed for profiting alike by the Hellenic culture and by the powerful originality of the barbaric lands. She was, as it were, a place of confluence, where the ideas of two worlds came together and mingled ; and the varied nationalities of her inhabitants, as well as the diversity of beliefs, brought thither by foreigners and merchants, must have given her a physiognomy not unlike that of Alexandria " (pp. 7-8).

But, in addition to this favoured situation, Edessa claimed a more romantic hold upon the Christian mind and heart, for, to

borrow again the words of Cardinal Wiseman's graceful poem, the "crystal cistern," into which there flowed this

blending
Of the two wisdoms into one design,

Had originally been

Filled by King Abgar with the flood of life,
Fresh from its source (Act ii., Scene 4).

In other words, the tradition of the Syrian Churches referred the first introduction of the Faith into Edessa to the very times of Our Lord, and we may say to Our Lord Himself; since it was supposed to have been begun by the famous interchange of letters between Jesus Christ and King Abgar of Edessa.

Of what historical value is this legend? Is the famed correspondence between the Saviour and the King a mere beautiful saga? and did the Church of Edessa really date back to the earliest Apostolic times? Does history bear out legend?

Nobody will deny that, considering the part Edessa has played in the history of Christianity, such a question is one of peculiar interest. Hence we cannot be surprised that M. L. J. Tixeront, of the Congregation of St. Sulpice, chose this subject for his doctoral dissertation at the *Ecole Supérieure de Théologie* of Paris last July. This dissertation, which we have now to present to the notice of our readers, is one of a deeply interesting and learned character, showing abundant research and profound study, combined with keen critical faculties and a power of lucid exposition of argument. M. Tixeront is evidently one of a new school which has been springing up in France of late years, and which disputes, with what we have hitherto looked upon as the "German" school, the system of exact and minute criticism—whether historical or philological—only combining the same, of course, with true French lucidity. The leading light of this school of exact study is doubtless the well-known Abbé Martin, whose name is as familiar in this country as his own, and who combines in a wonderful degree the patient minute investigation of MS. sources, of which he has probably an almost unrivalled knowledge, with philological gifts of a high order. We may not unjustly set down M. Tixeront as a disciple of this school; and it is, therefore, interesting to observe that the young doctor's able memoir has called forth a most vigorous, trenchant, and erudite reply from the veteran professor. The discussion is one full of instructive features, and for that reason we purpose to refer to it at some length.

Dr. Tixeront, we have seen, sets himself to examine the value of the old traditions which assign to the Christianity of Edessa an Apostolic origin, and incidentally certain celebrated legends involved in the same, such as that of the letters between King Abgar and Our Saviour, and that of the Discovery of the True Cross. He begins by distinguishing legend from history, and then goes on to examine and compare the two.

1. Looking first to what history has recorded, we find that the first historical bishop of Edessa whose name is preserved for us was one ܩܢܐ, or Qonâ, A.D. 313. A century earlier than this, however, we know that there was, about 215 or 216, a Christian king of Edessa, Abgar (probably Abgar VIII., for the name was a traditional one in the dynasty). About the middle of the second century the celebrated Bardesanes—"cet homme étonnant, à la fois poète, historien, philosophe, astronome, théologien, et apologiste, qui semble avoir embrassé toutes les connaissances de son temps et avoir personnifié en lui le génie d'Edesse"—was born at that city; and, though his parents might have been Pagans, there are many reasons for being sure that a Christian Church and hierarchy were flourishing at Edessa in his time. It was also at this period that the equally celebrated Tatian sojourned for some time in the city, and appears to have drawn up a "Diatessaron,"* for the Christians of that region, somewhere between 152 and 173 A.D. From these scattered facts, all that history in the strict sense has preserved to us, M. Tixeront concludes that "the middle of the second century A.D. marks in history the evangelization of Edessa and the foundation of its Church" (p. 19).

To this point we must return later, but we are free to admit at once that on reading this we were struck with the idea that the conclusion goes a good deal too far for the premisses. Certainly, we may say, "therefore the Church of Edessa *existed at least as early as the middle of the second century*;" but what warrants us in arguing, "therefore that Church *dates only from the time indicated*?" But to proceed.

2. When we turn to legend, things are very different. Three legends may be said to make up, in varying forms, the cycle in question, viz.—(1) that of Christ and Abgar, (2) that of the True Portrait of Christ, (3) that of the Invention of the True Cross.

Few pious legends are more celebrated in early and mediæval literature than that of the interchange of letters between Our Lord and King Abgar, and quite protean are the forms this legend and its surroundings take in writers, both Western and Eastern,

* Abbé Martin shows reasons for speaking of a "Diatessaron," instead of the "Diatessaron." See his pamphlet, p. 147.

among Syrians and Armenians, Greeks and Latins. But, if we try to get back to the oldest extant sources, we find them reduced to two: the one is a curious Syrian document, originally published in this country by Cureton,* under the title of "The Doctrine of Addai"; the other is a chapter (xiii.) of the first book of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, and which that historian professes to have drawn from "an ancient Syriac document" in the Edessa archives. It is impossible to enumerate all the versions in various oriental and occidental languages (the most important the old Armenian one). As to Syriac literature, Abbé Martin truly says a volume might be filled with nothing else but the references to Abgar and Addai.

Although the legend is so well known, we may briefly recapitulate here the main facts, as far as contained in the two oldest recensions above alluded to. King Abgar "the Black" of Edessa (probably Abgar V.) is afflicted with a dire sickness. Happening to hear of the wonderful miracles wrought by Christ, he sends a deputation, including one Hannan, a scribe, and apparently also a painter, with a letter expressing already his belief in the divinity of the Saviour, begging Him to come and cure him, and also offering Him a place of refuge in his city against the malignity of His enemies. Our Lord replies by letter (Eusebius) or by message ("Doctrine of Addai"), declining, indeed, the invitation, but pronouncing a blessing upon the King, and promising that, after His own return to heaven, He would send one of His disciples to preach the truth in Edessa. The message terminates (in the "Doctrine") with a promise that no enemy shall ever become master of the city. Hannan, again according to the "Doctrine," both writes down carefully the words of Christ and takes the occasion to paint the Saviour's portrait, which he carries back to the King, and which, of course, becomes a great treasure (as we shall afterwards see) to Edessa. The legend goes on to relate that, after the Ascension, St. Thomas the Apostle† became the father of the Church of Edessa by sending thither Addai, one of the seventy-two disciples, who preached the faith, converted the people, and was the first bishop, being succeeded in the see by Aggai and Palût. Other forms of the tradition make St. Thomas himself preach there on his way to India, of which he has always and consistently been called the Apostle, even in Syriac literature.

* "Ancient Syriac Documents relative to the Earliest Establishment of Christianity in Edessa" (London, 1864). Nearly all the other documents relating to the same subject will be found in the same volume.

† Strangely enough called Judas Thomas. The Syrian tradition is to the effect that "Judas" was the real name of the Apostle, "Thomas" being merely a surname.

Other extensions, amplifications, variations, far too numerous to mention, are to be found as time goes on gathering round the original legend or tradition of this famous correspondence of the Middle Ages in the literature of both East and West. The above, however, will suffice for the main items.

Referring, now, to the two *oldest* sources, the question arises whether Eusebius or the "Doctrine of Addai" is to be looked upon as the more primitive authority? We cannot enter here into Dr. Tixeront's minute and learned disquisition: we will only say that he concludes, with good reason, that (1) Eusebius is based on a prior document, as he himself states, and that this prior document is no other than the "Doctrine of Addai," but in its *primitive* form; (2) our present redaction of the said "Doctrine of Addai" is one "slightly altered and interpolated," and, in its *present form*, therefore, posterior to Eusebius.

3. The next question that arises is, What, then, is the date to be assigned to the origin of the legend? Here again we have only space enough to summarize the conclusions of the learned author. They are based on the facts—(1.) That the "Doctrine of Addai" already contains (as we have seen) the celebrated legend of the Miraculous Portrait of Our Lord (subsequently called the "Veronica"), which is not mentioned by Eusebius. Now, we have an authentic relation of the visit of a Frankish pilgrim (Sylvia of Aquitaine) to the Holy Places and Edessa, between the years 385–388,* and although she gives a most detailed account of all the religious treasures of Edessa, as shown to her by the bishop of that see himself, no mention is made by her of the Holy Image. Clearly, therefore, it can hardly have been known in the city at that date. (2.) Certain other documents, especially the terminal passages of the Acts of Sharbil and Barsamyas, and a similar passage added to the "Doctrine of Addai," though not forming an original part of it, state that Barsamyas had been ordained by Abshelamâ, bishop of Edessa, the later by Palût; this one by Serapion, bishop of Antioch, who, in turn, had received ordination from "Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome," whose reign we know was from 203–221. Thus Bishop Palût was evidently two generations removed from Pope Zephyrinus. But it has been seen above that Palût was the third bishop of Edessa, or next but one to Addai. If this be so, Addai cannot have lived in Apostolic times, but must have flourished about the year 150. But according to the unanimous Syrian testimony, he was the first bishop of Edessa: therefore the Syrian Churches, and their centre, Edessa, were not evangelized before the middle of the second century.

* Edited by Gamurrini, Rome, 1887.

On the other hand, the legends can be shown to be anterior without a doubt to the Council of Ephesus. Their date, therefore, says M. Tixeront, must be fixed between the extremes 390 and 430.*

Such is, in brief, M. Tixeront's contention. Deeply interesting however, are some of the side issues incidentally treated—notably, the two connected legends of the "Veronica" and of the Invention of the Cross. We must allude to them briefly.

These latter discussions will probably appear rather startling to some readers, accustomed, as they have been, to the scene depicted in the Sixth Station of the Way of the Cross, and to the office in missal and breviary for May 3. No alarm, however, need be felt on such a score. Such pious beliefs belong in no way to the "deposit" of Faith: if they did, the Church would propose them as authorized, and be responsible for their veracity. She does no such thing. They belong to the sphere of what is totally distinct—post-deposital or extra-deposital traditions, with regard to which the Church's attitude is purely permissive. She takes them for what they are worth, and permits their use for purposes of devotion by those who do accept them, provided they contain nothing opposed to faith or morals.† As a matter of fact, both the pious traditions above alluded to are involved in considerable difficulty and doubt.

(1.) Our present popular version of "St. Veronica" and the miraculous portrait of Our Lord is by no means the only or earliest one. In the Edessene legend of Abgar, the Holy Face

* We may thus express in tabular form M. Tixeront's conclusions:—

A.D. 13–50 Actual reign of Abgar V.

150–160 Addai, first bishop of Edessa.

Aggai, second do.

172 Tatian at Edessa, his "Diatessaron."

c. 200 Palût, third bishop.

215–216 Abgar VIII., Christian King.

c. 250 Abgar legend "begins to form."

c. 275 "Acta Edessena" (original document seen by Eusebius).

330 Eusebius' History.

379–395 The Frankish Pilgrim at Edessa, (probably between 385–388).

390–430 "Doctrine of Addai," in its *present* form.

† This is well expressed by the learned Dom Mabillon: "Where a tradition is immemorial and the identity established, the possession of a cult is a solid title, which can be destroyed only by certain and evident proofs. . . . It is, therefore, equitable to judge in favour of possession, *unless one has good reasons to doubt of it*—reasons which are precise, and not vague and general."—Quoted by Rohault de Fleury, in his great work, "*Les Instruments de la Passion*," in the chapter on "*Les Véroniques*," p. 246 (there are such venerated in different places). Benedict XIV. says, "whether Veronica be the name of a woman or that of the relic;" but writes strongly in favour of the authenticity.

appears in quite a different way. In the "Doctrine" it is Hannan, the royal painter, who both takes the message of Our Lord and paints His portrait, which becomes the great treasure, the palladium of Edessa.*

In other versions, Hannan fails to portray the features of Christ, whereupon Our Lord applies the canvas to His own Divine Countenance, and the miraculous impress is left upon it; or else He washes His face in water and dries it upon the canvas, or on an ordinary cloth, and the miraculous picture results. The Armenian writer, Varton, describing this sacred picture at Edessa, calls it "The Holy Veronica." Later on, it is no longer Hannan who procures the "Veronica." The tradition passes into Byzantine literature and Western Europe, and assumes all kinds of forms. A woman becomes the chief actor in the legend. She is at one time the woman with the issue of blood (Matt. ix. 20), who finds the portrait of Christ, which is miraculously reproduced; this same woman is elsewhere Berenice, princess of Edessa; elsewhere she is Hypatia. Finally, there seems a confusion between the name of Berenice and the "Veronica," or sacred image itself; and between Hypatia discovering the miraculous portrait and the one of the Abgar legend. To make matters worse, later Latin writers transfer the cure of Abgar to Tiberius, and cause the "Veronica" to be brought back from the Holy Land to that prince! The legends thus seem in inextricable confusion.

(2.) Concerning the Finding of the Cross, there are two great difficulties. One is that the remarkable history of the Empress Helena's visit to Jerusalem and her discovery there of the True Cross is never mentioned by Eusebius, although he speaks at length of that Emperor's erection of the basilica of the Resurrection, and of many other facts connected with the Holy Places. When the familiar relations in which Eusebius stood to Constantine and his Court are recollected, this absolute silence on the subject becomes most difficult to explain. Again, in 333, the "Bordeaux Pilgrim," who visited the Holy Places, makes no mention of either the True Cross or the Empress Helena. The first to speak of the True Cross as existing at Jerusalem is St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in 347; the first to mention Helena in connection with the erection of some basilicas—though *not* in reference to the discovery of the True Cross, of which event she describes the "encenia"—is the "Frankish Pilgrim" (385-388); and it is only in St. Ambrose (395) that the history in its present form appears complete.

The second difficulty, though serious, is of a lesser order. It

* Afterwards said to have been removed to Constantinople.

is that there is a *second* legend, almost exactly parallel with that of Helena (even to the details of finding three crosses and deciding which was that of Christ by the cure of a sick person). In this second form, an Empress intervenes, but it is now Protonike, wife of the Emperor Claudius, and therefore over two centuries earlier than Helena! For the rest, the account is almost identical; and *this* is the story, be it noted, which is contained in the "Doctrine of Addai." The manner in which it is there brought into connection with Edessa is peculiar. Addai is made to narrate the history of Protonike to King Abgar, and afterwards, at the King's request, to all the people of Edessa. It is interesting to observe, however, that Dr. Tixeront, after a careful study of the two legends, concludes that of the two the Helena story is the primitive one, and that the Protonike legend is merely imitated from the former. How much truth there is in that history itself is another question, but certainly the silence of earlier sources, especially Eusebius, is a most embarrassing fact, which still awaits a satisfactory explanation.

We have no room left to speak of M. Tixeront's discussion of other interesting points—such as the celebrated promise of Our Lord that Edessa should never be conquered by her foes, which is to be found in the "Doctrine of Addai," and afterwards became so famous throughout the Eastern world;* or again, the relations between Edessa and the Apostle St. Thomas, and other points. The learned writer concludes by printing the texts of three versions of the Abgar correspondence—one Greek, from the Fayûm find; one Syriac, and a third Arabic, due to Abbé Hyvernât (lately nominated professor at the new Catholic University of Washington).

Soon after the appearance of Dr. Tixeront's book, the Abbé Martin, of Paris, issued a most important reply, under a nearly identical title. In this short but erudite essay the Abbé subjects M. Tixeront's work to a most searching and even scathing criticism. The reader will admire not only the cogent reasoning, but also the extraordinary erudition of this reply. The Abbé Martin is probably unrivalled in the extent of his acquaintance with Syriac and Armenian literature, and seems to have read almost every MS. of the kind preserved in the various libraries of Europe. It will be understood, therefore, that he is a formidable opponent; and such he proceeds to show himself to M. Tixeront.

We can only briefly outline his arguments.

The main points of his contention are that the Apostolic origin of the Church of Edessa and the surrounding Mesopotamian Christianity was—(1) antecedently, almost inevitably to be

* It was not, however, verified in history.

expected ; (2) based upon "an ancient, unanimous, universal, and constant tradition." On the other hand, he contends that the crucial argument on which M. Tixeront relies (the consecration of Palût) is based upon documents of no value, as being grossly interpolated, and full of manifest mistakes. A word on each of these subjects.

1. It would be incredible that Edessa should not have received Christianity at least as early as her neighbour Antioch. This we can judge from all that we know of the action of the Apostles, and the rapid spread of Christianity, "like a train of powder," by them. The Acts, it is true, preserve to us the record of only St. Paul's travels and preaching, who in less than thirty-five years traversed nearly the entire Roman world. But it is impossible to suppose that St. Paul's action was unique among the Apostles —on the contrary, universal tradition shows that they soon spread themselves over all the world, far beyond even the limits of the Roman Empire. The great difference was, of course, that St. Paul's activity extended over the greater part of a civilized world, the other Apostles to a large extent devoted their efforts to "barbarian" countries. But, more than this, the ground must have been prepared, to say the very least, at Edessa, from the day of Pentecost. For in Acts ii. 5-10, among those "of every nation" who heard the first sermon of St. Peter, and believed, were "Parthians and inhabitants of Mesopotamia." Now, Edessa was the very centre of Mesopotamia, and, what is more significant, she is repeatedly spoken of in Syriac literature as "the daughter of the Parthians," which latter somewhat elastic name was regularly extended to the inhabitants of those regions. Putting all this together, and looking at the spread of the Church in neighbouring countries, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find any adequate reason for excepting Edessa and Mesopotamia from the Apostolic evangelization. All the more so, as Edessa was so famous a city, and the Apostles ever followed the great rule, afterwards attributed also to the Jesuits, "*ite ad magnas urbes.*"

2. The "ancient, unanimous, universal, and constant tradition" in all Syriac, Byzantine, and Western literature is not merely that the Edessene Church was Apostolic in origin, but that its father and founder was St. Thomas, the Apostle of India. On his way to India, it is recorded, he sowed the first germs of the Church in the famous capital of Osroene, leaving Addai to continue and perfect the work and become the first bishop. This fact must explain the extraordinary veneration always shown at Edessa, and throughout the whole Syrian Church, for St. Thomas, far above that accorded to any of the other Apostles, and the fact of their getting the body of the Saint brought from India in 232—

whether by the intervention of the Emperor Alexander Severus, as M. Tixeront, following the unreliable "*Passio Thomæ*," seems to believe, or perhaps by a pious fraud or robbery, as M. Martin is more disposed to think. How much weight there is in this case of the translation of the relics of the Apostle will be best appreciated by reading the witty and cogent reasoning of M. Martin on pp. 39-40. Many readers will perhaps think the critic is almost too merciless in the manner in which he tears to shreds the arguments of his opponent. But, severe and decisive as all this is, it is nothing in comparison with the *étreintement en règle* to which M. Martin proceeds to subject the whole system built up on the question of Bishop Palût and his consecration. The utterly unreliable character of the documents on which this system is based had been, indeed, partly admitted by M. Tixeront. It is not the "*Doctrine of Addai*" itself, nor the acts of the martyred bishops themselves, which contain these lists of ordinations, but appended portions or extensions in each case—documents, not "*légèrement retouchés et interpolés*," to use a phrase of Dr. Tixeront, but rather, as M. Martin says, "*anonymes, criblés de fautes, dérivant d'un seul auteur*." These charges, which space will not allow us to enter upon here, are sustained at length, and must, we think, take away all value from what is Dr. Tixeront's very mainstay.*

Abbé Martin, having demolished the main thesis of his opponent, next enters into some detail upon the question of the celebrated correspondence of King Abgar with Christ; and, with the aid of a large amount of hitherto inedited extracts from Syriac writers, brings out more clearly than ever the wide extension and importance this tradition held in early Christian literature. Especially valuable and striking are the extracts from unpublished writings of St. Ephrem, and also from old Armenian MS. sources. Of course, even should the Abgar legend prove to be mythical, it would not at all interfere with the venerable and universal tradition of the Apostolic origin of the Edessene Church; but Abbé Martin is not willing to concede readily even the legendary character of the Abgar tradition itself. At least, he gives us very good reason for supposing that there is a "*minimum substratum*" of fact—viz., that the embassy of Abgar V. to our Lord, and possibly the King's letter, may have been real historical events. On these points we cannot altogether agree with the learned professor. Contrarily to what he advances, we cannot for a moment hesitate to accept the proofs advanced by M. Tixeront

* Even if the statements were true, there is abundant reason to believe that there were more Palûts than one bishops of Edessa. It is highly significant that in the "*Doctrine*" Palût is called *gadmaïo*—i.e., "the first," or "the elder."

that the *text* of Abgar's letter, as we have it actually, contains passages copied from the Gospels (Matt. xi., Luke vii.), and this is surely enough to ruin the authenticity of that letter in its present form. M. Martin, of course, does not think of defending the authenticity of the letter in reply attributed to Christ. He does, however, opine that Our Lord may have sent a *verbal* answer (as the "Doctrine of Addai" says), upon which the famous letter has afterwards been founded. That is, no doubt, a possibility upon which all can agree.

The allied questions of the "Veronica" and the Invention of the True Cross are not touched upon by the learned Abbé; and, in fact, they do not in any way affect the main current of the discussion.

Hitherto, the only modern authorities who have been followed by recent writers on Church history, especially non-Catholic ones, have been Lipsius and Zahn, as a glance at the current manuals, dictionaries, &c., will show. But, henceforth, serious account will have to be taken by ecclesiastical students of both M. Tixeront's exhaustive memoir and Abbé Martin's important reply, which sheds so much fresh light upon many crucial points.

With this—though we fear we have done M. Martin an injustice by our too hasty summary of a small book teeming with erudition—we bring to an end our analysis of one of the ablest and most interesting polemical debates we have assisted at for a considerable time. Some will think that Abbé Martin's criticisms are perhaps too severe and uncompromising in their character; others will agree with him that M. Tixeront has been altogether too rash and hasty in building upon unreliable premisses. In any case, both writers display great learning and wide research, and the polemic is one that does honour to the erudition of the Church of France, and especially to the "Ecole Supérieure de Théologie" of Paris, and makes one lay down one's pen with a sigh of regret that we have no such centre of intellectual life for Catholic theology and history in this country.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

ART. VIII.—SYNDICATES, TRUSTS, AND CORNERS.

THE older gospel of economic science is being rapidly confuted by the developments of modern trade. Formulas enunciated with oracular dogmatism, are every day falsified by experience, and the philosophy of the closet is laughed to scorn by the finance of the Stock Exchange. Demand and supply no longer maintain a self-adjusting equilibrium, and prices, forced up and down by sheer leverage of capital, violate all the canons of science by ceasing to bear a fixed proportion to cost of production. Competition, the talismanic force pointed to by theory as the automatic regulator of the commercial machine, is clamped by the antagonistic action of combination, and the vast engines of cosmopolitan industry are captured and controlled by the leagued forces of organized speculation. Theoretic science is defied by the audacious jugglery of financial experts, and its maxims are as much out of date in explaining the perturbations of the money market as those of the Ptolemaic system in co-ordinating the telescopic horizons of modern astronomy.

The Americanization of all English institutions, now rapidly in progress, is beginning to extend itself to the domain of British trade. Literature, language, and drama are insensibly modified under the influence of Transatlantic thought, the methods and machinery of insular politics are rapidly conforming to those of the United States, and the honours of the London season are borne off by the belles of Boston and New York. It is but natural that commerce, the most susceptible of all social forces to international influences, should seek its precedents in the same quarter, and that the astute strategy of that realm of Plutus, fondly known as "the Street," should be transplanted to the more dignified precincts of the older Stock Exchange. And if the imitative process has been slower in this department than in the other functions of national life, it is owing rather to the inequality in the conditions of trade in the two countries under the opposite systems of taxed and free imports, than to any inherent difference of practice or theory between the New World and the Old.

The difficulty of placing artificial restrictions on a market open to the whole world has hitherto limited the operations of rings of speculators in Europe to very narrow limits. It was reserved for the year 1888 to see so sudden a growth in the tendency towards this form of combination, as to make the development of syndicated trade the most marked feature in its commercial history. The principle on which the modern

syndicate is based is not indeed a discovery of our own times, but has been acted on in the most rudimentary stages of commerce. The creation of an artificial scarcity by the acquisition of a monopoly was a manœuvre peculiarly obnoxious to the public in early times, when deficiency of communications rendered it comparatively easy of execution, by the isolation of local markets from general sources of supply. The rich miller or corn-factor, whose command of capital enabled him to buy up the harvest of a particular district, "cornered" the market in the most approved style, before the produce rings of Chicago had invented the term and revived the practice. The hungry populace, however, in the good old times occasionally resorted to an effectual method of "bearing" the market by raiding the dealer's granary and hanging him to the rafters, their resentment being stimulated by some such effusion of local minstrelsy as the following doggerel epigram:—

Bone and Skin, two millers thin,
Would starve the town, or near it,
But be it known to Skin and Bone
That flesh and blood won't bear it.

A variety of legislative enactments were directed against this offence, termed "regrating" or "forestalling," and, by the 5th and 6th Edward VI. cap. 14 in particular, it was declared, that "whoever should buy any corn or grain with intent to sell it again should be reputed an unlawful engrosser," liable to penalties, culminating, for the third conviction, in the pillory, imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeiture of goods. All legislation contemporaneously in force in Europe was in the spirit of this statute, which was subsequently modified by Acts legalizing corn-dealing when the price of wheat was below a certain limit, fixed by the 15th Charles II. cap. 7 at 48s. the quarter.

The trade guilds of the middle ages were, on the other hand, privileged monopolies, with arbitrary powers of restricting competition. This was done by the authority to prescribe the terms of apprenticeship, conferred on the trade associations, or "universities," as they were originally termed, at first by municipal charters in the several towns, and subsequently by the 5th of Elizabeth, called the Statute of Apprenticeship, by which seven years' probation was established throughout the kingdom as the condition of admission to all trades. The institutions to which the term university is now exclusively applied were developments of these trade corporations, and still retain some of their nomenclature, as in the term Master of Arts and other collegiate expressions. The recent revelations of the

Committee on the Sweating System as to the evils resulting from unrestricted competition in skilled labour make it doubtful if we have, after all, made any advance in these matters on the wisdom of our ancestors.

The tendency of all trade associations towards self-protection drew down upon them the animadversion of Adam Smith, whose favourite theories of commercial enfranchisement were directly contravened by them. "People of the same trade," writes the apostle of free exchange, "seldom meet together even for merriment and diversion but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public, or in some contrivance to raise prices." The reign of "Syndicates," "Trusts," "Rings," "Pools," and "Corners" inaugurated at the present day seems to justify his forcibly expressed distrust of mercantile agglomerations. The benefit indeed to producers of regulating price by restriction or equalization of supply is so obvious that the general adoption of some system for the purpose is only averted by the magnitude of the operations required for it in the present condition of the world. The English system of free imports, rendering the area of supply for many products coterminous with the habitable globe, restricts the possibilities of monopoly to those articles the production of which is strictly limited by nature or circumstances.

Not so in America, where the exclusion of foreign competition by a high protective tariff enables a combination of native producers to secure complete control of the market. The extent to which this is done vests the commercial interests of the country in a number of vast federations of capital, each constituting an *imperium in imperio*, in right of the despotic power wielded by it in its own particular department. The nature of the transactions conducted by them, the promptitude and secrecy required for warding off the attacks of hostile forces, the rapidity of action involved in adaptation to every fluctuation in the money market, necessitate the concentration of their management in few and practically irresponsible hands, and not seldom in those of a single chief of recognized ability. Hence the personal character of the operations of the New York Stock Exchange, which often resolve themselves into a series of Homeric conflicts between the representatives of rival corporations, or, still more frequently, into single combats, sometimes protracted through weeks and months, between the towering heroes of finance. The swiftness of *coup d'œil*, the rapid power of combination, the fertility in strategy and resource displayed by these conspicuous leaders, require a genius akin to that with which a great military commander meets the exigencies of the battle-field. Not alone the temper and mood of the public present and prospective, but the

caprices of Nature, and variations of the atmosphere, are factors in the problems constantly offering themselves for solution. A blizzard in the North-West may shatter a financial empire, and an outbreak of swine disease in Ohio convert a Cræsus into a crossing-sweeper. Weather reports, posted in Wall Street at intervals throughout the day, are consulted by brokers with interest as feverish as that of farmers, for a rise of the barometer in Minnesota will transfer the ownership of millions, and a frost in the Forks of the Cheyenne turn Pactolus from its bed in far Manhattan. The shower of fairy gold fallen overnight on one set of speculators is changed ere morning into so much waste paper, while the turn of their rivals comes to gather in the fair but fleeting largesse of lucre. The bounty of Nature is staked on a gamester's hazard while yet in the germ of promise, and the harvest of a continent is won and lost a score of times ere it is sown. Each day epitomizes in its delirious hours the hopes and fears of life-times, and every financial intrigue affects interests as large as those involved in the fall of a dynasty. A group of streets and buildings, circumscribed within the narrow limits of a few square acres, sees the wealth of a hemisphere passed from hand to hand with the rapidity of a conjuror's trick, and the destinies of thousands hourly thrown on a cast of the loaded dice of strategic finance. The pulsations of this central heart of commerce are transmitted to every state and territory between ocean and ocean, and the most remote outpost of civilization has its "bucket-shop," where the bumpkins of the half-reclaimed prairie wile away *ennui* by gambling in "futures." Thus the provinces are permeated with the spirit of the capital, and the news of "a flurry in Wall Street" sends an answering thrill through the length and breadth of the American Union.

The characteristic feature of the New York Exchange is the enormous development there given to the system of fictitious transactions. The scale on which they are carried on causes great instability in the money market, owing to the facilities they give for its manipulation by particular sets of operators in their own interests. The complicated machinery called into action by speculation in borrowed stocks lends itself particularly to these manœuvres. The "bears," or speculators for a fall, borrow stocks when high, in order to sell them at those prices on the faith of being able to replace them when called on to do so by repurchasing at a lower rate. The transaction, though called borrowing, is really a temporary sale, money being paid for the stock thus transferred. A, we will suppose, borrows from B 1000 railway shares at 60, handing over 60,000 dollars in cash, with the obligation to return the stock on the demand of the lender, receiving back, of course, his money in exchange.

The stock-lender will, in the ordinary course, pay interest on the money while in his hands, but if the particular stock happen to be scarce, it will be "lent flat"—that is, without interest on its price, and in extreme cases a commission may even be paid for the use of stock. Should the market fluctuate during the continuance of the loan, the parties settle with each other at the close of each day, so that the money retained shall be always exactly equivalent to the nominal value of the stock. When the "bears" detect a weak spot in the market, they borrow and sell that particular investment on an extensive scale, thus contributing to depreciate it still further. At this point a rival set of operators see their opportunity, and, buying the discredited stock freely in order to lend it to their rivals, they send up its price by the confidence their action inspires in the outside public. Then, seizing the favourable moment to call in their loans, they compel the borrowers, who have gone what is technically called "short" of the market, to "cover" their liabilities by buying back at ruinously high prices. It is only the professional jobbers, forming about one-tenth of the frequenters of Wall Street, who thus habitually buy and sell, or, in their own phraseology, "go long and short," the remaining ninety per cent., representing the outside world, buying for a rise, and constituting the party known as "longs." Thus the co-operation of the general public, forming the great bulk of customers, is required for any large operation, and very dishonest manœuvres are frequently resorted to by persons in responsible positions on railways and other enterprises to depreciate their own stock in the eyes of this class, in furtherance of their personal schemes.

Sometimes, on the other hand, the professional speculators combine for a general upward movement, buying up all the leading stocks brought into the market at continually enhanced prices. If the public respond by continuing to buy at these inflated quotations, the jobbers are enabled to dispose of their purchases, or "unload," to advantage; but should the reverse happen, and stocks continue to be thrown on the market, they are unable to "absorb" them at the higher rates, and are eventually compelled to sell at a loss. The element of chance, which deals so largely in the unpremeditated and incalculable, sometimes introduces an unexpected factor into the situation, and thereby shatters all the best founded anticipations.

Such a reversal of financial calculations was brought about by the assassination of President Garfield, in July 1881, coming, as it did, in the midst of a great "boom," when the public, in the reaction after the long depression from 1873 to 1877, seemed intoxicated with confidence, and stocks had in many cases doubled and trebled in value. The event, though in no way

disastrous to the national credit, gave a universal shock to sentiment, which reacted on the money market, and its fluctuations reflected the hopes and fears of the public, following closely those in the condition of the illustrious patient.

The assassination of President Garfield [says a writer in the *North American Review*]* came when the greatest stock-operator of this, or perhaps any other day, was loaded up with an enormous line of certain stocks. Three or four months more of such a market as Guiteau's bullet shattered would have enabled him to sell out all his holdings. The Street and the public would have had every share he chose to sell. From various causes he had been unable to market all his holdings at the time he had calculated on doing so, and the assassination changed the whole complexion of things. He was left to struggle with the adverse currents of a falling market, and the history of Wall Street speculation since that event has been, speaking broadly, the history of the efforts of a great operator of vast means, indefatigable energy, infinite resource, and unequalled talent in his line, to profitably market a great load of stock which the public has shown an increasing disinclination to take off his hands. Twice in this period he has been driven close to the wall. On one occasion he was saved only because the men who were pressing him became frightened at the near prospect of his downfall, which they saw would precipitate a panic in which all must suffer. They drew back, and the respite was sufficient for a man of his genius to extricate himself. For a time he seemed to have turned the tables on his opponents, and some of them he did punish badly, but it was hopeless. Neither immense wealth nor the highest talent could create a "bull" market when the public, demoralized and disheartened, refused to sustain it, and another and worse fall of prices followed the well-known "pegging" campaign.

It was during the same period of depression that, a rumour having obtained currency of Jay Gould's having been compelled to solicit a loan of Vanderbilt, and the nerves of Wall Street being much "flurried" in consequence, the former magnate of the market invited a committee of gentlemen to inspect his books and satisfy themselves as to the soundness of his finances. The result was the immediate restoration of public confidence by the disclosure of a fortune far surpassing in magnitude even the world's previous estimate.

The fever of railway speculation, the foundation of monetary transactions in America, has led on the one hand to suicidal competition between rival roads, and, on the other, to the counter-measure of combinations of opposing interests. The era of railway rivalry began when economy in the working of the lines enabled them to compete for through traffic with canal and

* July 1882: "Hydraulic Pressure in Wall Street."

river transport. The war of rates sent down the charges for carriage between Chicago and New York from the tariff of 1868, varying from \$1.88 per 100lb. for first-class to \$0.82 for fourth-class goods, to an all-round rate of 25 cents for the following year. An advance on these charges was, however, made in 1870, and maintained up to 1875, when a fresh competitor started for the Chicago traffic by the entry of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad on a line connecting Milwaukee and Detroit with the northern Atlantic ports. During the ensuing railway wars of 1875-76 rates fell to nominal charges of from 25 to 16 cents per 100lb., actual freights being much lower. The exhaustion supervening on this ruinous struggle led to an experiment in an opposite direction, and the era of pooling set in. This form of arrangement, by which either profits or traffic are amicably shared instead of being contended for, had been inaugurated some years previously by the Chicago and Omaha Pool, constituted in 1870 by a combination of three lines connecting those places. The nominal break-up of this Triple Alliance in 1884 was only preliminary to its incorporation in a larger scheme, by which pools were established from Chicago to the Ohio River on the south-east, and to Minnesota on the north-east, including on the west the traffic of Colorado, and eventually that of the trans-continental lines to the Pacific. The similar confederation in 1877, of the roads eastward from the great grain metropolis, was based on the division of the aggregate traffic between the four companies in a fixed proportion. Here, however, the rivalry of cities was added to that of companies, each of the terminal points, New York, Boston, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, seeking to attract to itself the lion's share of the traffic. The first-named of the four has been heavily handicapped in the race, paying 2 to 6 cents per 100lb. more than the two last in the list, while rated equally with Boston, though fifty miles nearer the departure point. The increase of her export trade has consequently experienced a heavy check, having amounted in the six years 1874-80 to but 14 per cent., while the aggregate growth of that of her three rivals has been 106 per cent.

Further south another great league of carriers, the Southern Railway and Steamboat Association, grew out of a combination of Georgia lines established in 1874, and, with Albert Fink as its presiding genius, rapidly attained to a monopoly of all land and water carriage throughout that portion of the Union. It was what is known as a "net money pool," surplus receipts, after payment of a certain allowance for expenses, going into a common fund.

The peace established in 1877 was broken in 1881 by the

secession of the New York Central, which led to eight months' hostilities, followed by another truce in 1882, and a fresh war in 1884. The methods adopted by belligerent companies in their efforts at reciprocal destruction may be judged from an incident in a struggle between two lines for the transport of cattle, when, one having lowered its charges below paying point, the other promptly retaliated by buying up all the cattle at the inland terminus and sending them to the coast by its rival.

But to the general commerce of the country the most disastrous result of this internecine strife has been the establishment of discriminating rates, unduly favouring localities where competition exists at the expense of those from which it is absent. Thus the New York Central charges 50 per cent. more for carriage of flour from Rochester, where it has a monopoly, to New York, than from Milwaukee, where it has to face competition, though the distance in the first case is 371 and in the second 1050 miles. The milling trade of Rochester has been ruined in consequence, to the great loss and injury of the district. This instance is but a typical one illustrative of the universal working of the system.

The centralizing tendency of American trade, of which the pooling system is one development, has also led to great schemes of consolidation, concentrating the ownership of the main lines of communication throughout the country in the hands of a few large capitalists. Scott, who pioneered this movement, entered the service of the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1850, and the outcome of his management was the extension of the Company's area, after the Civil War, eastward over the whole of New Jersey, westward to Chicago, St. Louis, and Cincinnati, southward to Baltimore, and northward as far as Lake Ontario, giving to this line and its allies and associates the exclusive control of 7000 miles of steam transit.

Cornelius Vanderbilt, thirty years older than Scott, entered later on the same field of operations. Originally a steamboat captain, he had become, in 1850-60, one of the largest owners of that class of vessels in the world.

But his business sagacity [says Mr. Hadley*] led him to foresee the future of the railroad system, and about the beginning of the war he gradually withdrew from the sea to invest his capital on land. In 1863 he began buying Harlem as an investment. He bought some of it at '03; thanks to the operations of those who tried to break him down by selling it short, he carried it up to 285. He went into Hudson River in 1864; in 1867, after some opposition, he secured

* "Railroad Transportation." Arthur T. Hadley. New York: Knickerbocker Press. 1886.

control of the New York Central, and consolidated it with Hudson River in 1869. In a desperate attempt to gain control of Erie he was foiled, but he and his friends were more successful in their efforts further west on the Lake Shore and the Canadian Roads. There were thus united under one general management (though not under one concern, as in the Pennsylvania system) some four thousand miles of railroad between New York and Chicago.

This Railway King was the founder of a dynasty still reigning and flourishing, its late head having left on his death, December 8, 1887, a fortune estimated at two hundred million dollars, or about forty million sterling.

The lines of communication west of Chicago and St. Louis, instead of running parallel, like those thence eastward to the coast, radiate from the great centres of distribution, to which they act as grain and produce collectors. Here the Missouri Company controls 6000, or with the allied Wabash system, 9500 miles of road. A colossal achievement of bold speculation was the construction in this region of the Central Pacific, by four individuals, two of them storekeepers in San Francisco, whose aggregate resources in 1860 were comprised in a capital of £24,000. The issue of bonds on each successive section of the work enabled it to be telescoped on from stage to stage, while its control was secured by the retention of the shares in the hands of the enterprising quartette. These latter, who subsequently built the Southern Pacific, became the greatest power in the West, owning nearly all the railroads in Nevada and California, and one of them, dying in 1878, left a fortune of £6,000,000.

The scale on which the great magnates carry on their operations, when engaged in a deadly struggle for the exclusive control of the market, was instanced in the Wall Street campaign of 1887, fought by Cyrus Field and Jay Gould over Manhattan stock. The latter succeeded in flooding the market with a greater quantity than his rival could absorb at the current price of 156½, thereby forcing it down to 115, when, coming into the field as a buyer, he continued his evolutions until he had concentrated in his hands six million dollars worth of the stock, pocketing himself the amount of the loss inflicted on his adversaries.

The control of railways in America, where they are the agencies for peopling the wilderness and calling new communities into existence, confers such power as does the possession of land in older countries, and is consequently the prize at once of greed and of ambition. The railway autocrat is indeed a transatlantic avatar of the mediæval baron, who lived, as he does, on the ransom of commerce. It must not, however, be supposed that

the great classes and interests thus held at his mercy have always been contented to lie down resignedly under his dictatorship. The farmers of the North West, groaning under the apparent injustice of unequal rating, banded themselves together in a defensive league, utilizing the machinery of an existing association called Patrons of Husbandry, or popularly Granges, originally established in 1867-70 for purposes of social improvement. The agitators triumphed so far as to secure the passing, in 1874, of what are known as the Granger Laws, restricting the discretion of the railway companies in the adjustment of their tariffs, and requiring the latter to be proportionate to distance. The effect was disastrous to all parties: railway extension ceased, the development of the State of Wisconsin was seriously checked, and the Granger Laws were repealed by common consent at the end of two years.

It remains yet to be seen what results will flow from a more recent piece of legislation in the same direction, the Inter-State Commerce Law, passed by Congress in 1887, and applicable to the entire Union. The pooling of freight receipts is absolutely prohibited, and an Inter-State Commerce Commission invested with authority to regulate rates. The "long and short haul" clause, by which the latter were to bear a fixed proportion to distance, irrespective of competition, has already been found, in its absolute sense, impossible of enforcement, and the decision has been promulgated that competition must be reckoned with as an element of charge. In a conference held at Chicago early in 1889, the railway magnates met to discuss measures for concerted action in the new conditions thus created for them, and the negotiations, which have already produced an agreement between the Northern and Union Pacific roads, are understood to make satisfactory progress.

Not only do the great railway oligarchies combine amongst themselves in vast coalitions of capital, they also use their control of transport to confer monopolies in other branches of industry. Their business as carriers being simplified by dealing with a few large, rather than numerous small freighters, they give the preference to the former and deliberately crush the latter out of the field. This is easily done by rates so unequal that, where the favoured customer is charged perhaps 13 cents for the carriage of 100lb., his obnoxious rival will be asked 20, 25, 30, or 40 cents, according to the class of goods in question. The annihilation of the middle class must be the result of any extensive development of this tendency of trade, since it would sweep out of existence all but the largest capitalists.

The first notable instance of such an alliance between producers and carriers was the Anthracite Coal Pool, which from 1872 to 1876 had absolute control of the market. Concentrating

in its hands the ownership of 75 per cent. of the anthracite coal fields, it enforced very severe measures against independent proprietors, who were charged prohibitory rates for carriage. It was thus enabled to crush opposition and restrict the output, with the result of at one time doubling the price of coal in New York. Its action was the subject of investigation by the Legislature of that State, and a report was published to the effect that the private mine-owners, not burdened, like the great companies, with heavily watered stock and other expenses of corrupt management, could afford to sell coal much cheaper, but, being at the mercy of the railway companies for transport, were compelled to sell their property or otherwise come to terms with the lords of the pool.

A still more notorious example of such partnerships is afforded by the Standard Oil Company, which concentrates under one management almost the entire petroleum industry of the United States. It came into existence under an agreement between the New York Central, Erie, Lake Shore, and Pennsylvania railroads, to divide instead of competing for the carriage of oil, when, for convenience of details of management, they proceeded to confer a monopoly on the large corporation then known as the South Improvement Company, by undertaking to raise the rates to all its competitors. Retail dealers were moreover compelled to patronize it by a merciless system of persecution, the company's capital being expended in underselling the recalcitrant traders in rival stores where all goods dealt in by them were sold at or under prime cost. Thus was created the gigantic monopoly, which controlled, in 1883, 4000 miles of pipes, besides 1000 miles of trunk-lines; whose business for a single day involves the handling of over 60,000 barrels of oil, the putting together of nearly 90 tons of tank-iron, the manufacture of 100,000 tin cans of five gallons capacity, as well as of 25,000 oak barrels hooped with 150 tons of iron; and whose property and plant in newspapers, storage tanks, refineries, pipe-lines, railway tanks, &c., is estimated at a hundred million dollars.

All dealings in oil on the exchanges are in pipe-line certificates for 1000 barrels, which are as negotiable as a greenback. The quantity and location of oil in storage is posted every day, and guaranteed by monthly sworn statements to a Government official, as a precaution against over-issue. Fluctuations of price render oil a very speculative commodity, the range having been, for example, between August 27 and December 2, 1876, from 64 $\frac{3}{4}$ cents to 1 dollar 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents per barrel, or nearly 100 per cent. This extensive monopoly is one of the few of such combinations on behalf of which it may be claimed that, despite its relentless persecution of trade rivals, the public at large has benefited by its action. Oil is both cheaper and

better than in the days of competition in its production, uniformity of quality being here a distinct gain. The consolidation of telegraph communication in the hands of the Western Union Telegraph Company is also credited with having improved the efficiency of the service, while lowering the rates 85 per cent. over its area of operation.

The favouritism of the railway despots was exercised with equal unscrupulousness against indiscriminate cattle dealing in the West. The "Cattle Eveners' Pool" in Chicago was the result of a contract between the four federated railways leading thence eastward and three large dealers, to whom a bounty of fifteen dollars was promised on every carload of meat shipped to New York. The Eveners, who agreed in return to divide the traffic according to the terms of the railway agreement, were enabled to defy all competition by the large margin of profit thus secured them.

Among the more characteristic phenomena of transatlantic trade, fostered by its concentrative tendencies, are those brilliant efforts of commercial strategy known as "Corners." These conspiracies of capital, while generally looked askance upon by the purists of mercantile morality, have hitherto defied legal action for their suppression, whether on the part of State Legislatures or of Chambers of Commerce. The famous "Gold Ring," which, during the Civil War, succeeded in enhancing the price of the precious metal to the great disturbance of the national finance, thus triumphed over the prohibitory legislation attempted against it. The scarcity of gold was increased instead of lessened by the restrictive measures, which had consequently to be immediately repealed. The New York Legislature undertook, in 1882, an inquiry into this subject by the appointment of a "Corner" Committee, before which, among other financial experts, Mr. Jay Gould and Mr. William H. Vanderbilt were examined.* The former opined that the only practical check on speculation is the great loss sustained by the majority of speculators, and the latter corroborated this view by declaring that "not one man in ten goes into Wall Street but he is sure to be a loser in the long run." The stringent law of Illinois against "cornering," constituting that manœuvre a criminal offence punishable by fine or imprisonment, did not prevent Chicago from being the headquarters of the system, and the Board of Trade of that city repealed in 1882 the regulation rendering contracts for future deliveries incapable of enforcement by the ordinary remedy, expulsion of the defaulter.

* As was also Mr. Henry Ward Beecher, who opened his evidence with characteristic levity by declaring himself a "professional dealer in futures."

It is for the great staples of produce, cotton, wheat, maize, bacon, and petroleum, that this game of speculation is usually played, Nature holding the stakes, while wind and weather shuffle the pack. The harvest of winter wheat, gathered from the middle of June to the beginning of July, is followed by that of the spring-sown crop in August and September, and by that of maize or corn later still, while cotton is picked from summer to fall, the picking travelling northward as the season advances. The bulk of all dealings in these commodities is of a purely fictitious character, consisting of paper contracts for future deliveries of goods not then in existence, and never intended actually to change hands. A certain set of speculators undertake to deliver at a future date a specified quantity of produce at a fixed price, calculating, of course, on a fall in the market to enable them to do so with advantage. Their opponents profit equally by an opposite turn of events, and the process of settlement consists of the payment by the losers of the difference between the actual and the contract price. The typical case of the dealer reported to have sold the salmon catch of an Oregon river two years ahead, is perhaps seldom paralleled in telescopic outlook into futurity.

When the holders of contracts for futures know that the contractors, or "shorts," have oversold deliveries for a particular month, they proceed to "sap" the enemy by buying up all such deliveries in the market, together with the whole actual stock of the produce in question. The opposite side, being unable to fulfil their contracts, are compelled to pay a heavy forfeit by the rise in price thus artificially created. The celebrated grain corner of 1882 in Chicago, known as the "July Wheat Deal," was the subject of subsequent litigation. A large produce firm (Messrs. Armour & Kershaw) having brought up all the No. 2 spring wheat in the market, together with a number of July "options," or "futures," in that particular grade, the "shorts" sheltered themselves behind the State anti-corner legislation, and refused to settle by paying the difference. The question was decided by the Arbitration Committee of the Board of Trade, which declared \$1.30 per bushel a fair price to be paid for unfulfilled contracts.

That the "cornerers," however, sometimes may come to grief, instead of the "cornered," was proved in the case of the great produce "corner" in Chicago in the summer of 1883. Lard was in this instance the comestible manipulated, and the "Lard King," otherwise Peter McGeoch, who held at one time 600,000 tierces in his keeping, was the potentate whose fall points the moral of the tale. Other dealers having refused to join in the corner, he and his party were unable to sustain prices, which fell from \$10.87 to \$9.05. A series of bankruptcies ensued, McGeoch

failing for a million dollars, "sunk in the deal," and he and his allies collectively for \$2,500,000.

The famous Liverpool cotton "corner" of 1883 also resulted in a loss to the operators, of whom Morris Ranger was the chief. "Shorts" having contracted to deliver in September a larger quantity of Middling Upland cotton than seemed likely to be available, he and his confederates bought up all these "futures" on the calculation of a scarcity of supply. The abundance of the crop falsified this reckoning, compelling the corner chief to buy more freely than he had anticipated, and instead of being, as was for a time believed, a gainer of £100,000, he was actually a loser by the transaction, having eventually to sell at a reduced price.

Railway stock is also liable to be heavily "cornered," and by a celebrated campaign of this description in Wall Street, in September 1881, Hannibal and St. Joseph shares were run up from 57 to 225. Jay Gould summarized the result of some similar machinations in his cynical statement to the Corner Committee, that "before he knew it he had bought more Chicago and North-Western stock than there was in existence, and was induced to part with some of it at 250, to the very brokers who were immediately to sell it to himself at eighty."

The illusory character of these sales is shown by the extent to which they exceed the actual supply. Thus the Petroleum Exchange sold in 1887 fifty times the year's yield, and the cotton crop is usually turned over some twelve times. While the actual amount of the latter averages seven million bales of 425lb. each, the speculative turn-over by paper contracts for future delivery in England and America mounts up to eighty million bales, value a thousand million sterling. In New York 250,000 bales, worth £3,000,000, frequently change hands on paper in one day, and the dockets of the Liverpool cotton-brokers' clearing-house have been known to carry as many as 100 to 150 declarations on a single tender of 100 bales of cotton, the actual transfer of which quantity was thus made the basis of transactions to the amount of 10,000 to 15,000 bales.

The fluctuations in price, caused by "corners" on the Produce Exchanges brought about by temporary combinations, do not permanently affect the conditions of trade. The latter is the more ambitious aim of those organizations which, under the name of Trusts or Syndicates, are formed by the union, under the control of a supreme managing committee, of groups of capitalists, with a view to obtaining control of production, and thus forcing up prices. Their justification is to be found in the modern conditions of trade, which run counter to the dogmas of the older economic orthodoxy. The theory that demand and

supply would always act as automatic brakes, adjusting the relation of price to cost of production, omitted to allow or the dead pull of fixed capital as an element in the calculation. The loss entailed by cessation of interest on outlay in buildings and machinery renders the enforced idleness of a great industrial concern sometimes more ruinous than its continuance in work even at unremunerative rates. Thus the abstract proposition, that depreciation of price must immediately check production, and diminished production again enhance price, has no bearing on the actual condition of the world, in which we see over-production and accumulation of stocks in progressive increase during seasons of industrial depression. The cheap goods which then swamp the markets are produced by the exhausting expenditure of existing resources, and, like a spendthrift's profusion, are only evidence of the fact that the country is commercially living on its capital. The compensating process so violently arrested will be carried out eventually, not by gentle alternative pressure, but by rupture or dislocation of the whole social machinery. Limitation or equalization of production by artificial arrangement, has consequently, despite the immediate inconvenience to the consumer, a good deal to be urged in its favour.

In this new commercial departure Europe only follows at a long distance the lead of the more enterprising community beyond the sea. This monopoly of capital has in its favour, in the United States, not only the isolation secured by the protective tariff, but the fact that the interest of the population in trading corporations is much more widely extended than in Europe. A fourth of its collective property is held, it is calculated, by such associations, of which, in the State of Illinois, with a population in 1880 of little over three millions, no fewer than 1714 were in 1886 newly incorporated. Hence the resistance of consumers to arbitrary tariffs is counteracted by a rival interest resting on a basis scarcely less broad.

The North American Review for June 1882, in an article by Henry D. Lloyd, entitled "The Lords of Industry," gives a vivid picture of the conditions of trade in the United States under the syndicated system. The price of almost every product of nature or art is fixed by a ring of capitalists in league against the rest of mankind. Limitation of supply is the basis of their common action, or, in the words of the writer of the article, "the Lords of Industry are acquiring the right to pool the profits of scarcity, and decree famine." Manufacturers of lamps, glass and pottery; of stoves, chairs, agricultural machinery, rivets, chains, screws, shot, and hoop-iron; of starch, sugar-candy, preserved fruits, and glucose; of brass-tubing, hardware, silk, and

wire cloth, are enumerated among those who have banded themselves together in offensive and defensive alliance. Millers, miners, fishmongers, pinmakers, and type-founders may be added to the list, while nails and iron pipes, fire insurance, matches, coffins, and wooden ware, rags, wall-hangings, and wrapping paper, beer, malt, and whisky (the monopoly in the latter being maintained by the payment of 500 dollars per day to rival distillers to remain idle) are also among the exclusive industrial preserves, sacred from unauthorized trespassers. Examples of the mode of action by which these restrictions are maintained abound in the pages of the article quoted from. Thus, the Chicago Lumberers' Exchange has decreed it dishonourable for any dealer to undersell the association, which regulates prices on the basis of monthly reports from all its members as to the amount of stock in hand. Lists revised and promulgated at its monthly banquets have the force of edicts, ruling the trade throughout the Mississippi region, and as far west as Dakota and Manitoba. Retail timber merchants are likewise federated in an association representing five hundred and fifty members, whose object is the prevention of all direct dealings with carpenters and joiners by the wholesale trade. The lumber trade of the Pacific coast is in the same way ruled by the California Lumber Exchange, with a few powerful firms at its head. The mills of Puget Sound, which supply most of the timber of this region, entered into a combination in 1883 to sustain prices by limiting production, and expended thousands of dollars in hiring other mills to remain idle.

Two subsidiary branches of the timber trade are represented by the Redwood Manufacturers and the Pine Manufacturers' Associations, which bodies in 1883 compelled the retail dealers of San Francisco to sign a printed form of contract binding them to deal exclusively with their members, and otherwise observe their rules.

The coke industries of Pennsylvania are controlled by powerful syndicates, headed by four leading firms, and disposing of a capital of from ten to fifteen million of dollars. In 1884 some 8000 ovens had joined the pool, the smaller owners agreeing to cease working at the bidding of the chiefs. One oven in every seven was desired to close till further orders, and the price of coke was simultaneously advanced from 95 cents. to \$1.15 per ton, with a promise of a further increase to \$1.50. In March 1833 the *St. Louis Age of Steel* informed its readers that the coke-iron furnaces of Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee had formed a combination to prevent indiscriminate competition and "trickery of all kinds," for in such disrespectful language it seems do the coke-iron economists speak of "the sacred law of competition."

From the cattle trade, competition, as Western ranchmen com-

plain, is fast disappearing, and they declare, we are told, that there exist in the Chicago stockyards combinations of buyers who, by their ability to make large purchases, and their agreement to offer but one price, get cattle at their own figures.

One member of the "ring" [says our author] does the buying to-day, another to-morrow, and so on. The cattle kings have combinations to defend themselves against cattle thieves, State legislatures, and other enemies, and propose to extend their category so as to include the middle-men at the stockyards. The Stock Growers' Association of Wyoming have \$100,000,000 in cattle. At the recent convention held by this body in Cheyenne it was unanimously declared that its business arrangements had been seriously injured owing to the pooling arrangements prevailing among buyers at the Chicago stockyards, and the executive committee were instructed to obtain the fullest information as to the means by which cattle might be shipped direct to the European consumer.

One of the liveliest commercial campaigns was fought over a question so redolent of pastoral peace as the milk supply of the great cities of the Eastern seaboard.

Two years ago [so Mr. Lloyd tells the story] there was too much milk in New York and Boston. The "embattled farmers" of Orange County, which supplies New York with two-thirds of its milk, declared a milk war. The New York dealers were cut off from their regular supplies. Committees of farmers waited at every railroad station, and offered to buy up all the milk that was brought down for shipment by those who did not join in the combination. When bought it was spilled. When not bought it was usually spilled just the same. Two Italians with performing bears were in Goshen on the night when the first milk was spilled; the farmers said the bears spilled it, and while the milk war lasted the spillers were known as the "bears." When the superintendent of the Lehigh and Hudson Railroad allowed milk to be shipped against the protests of the farmers, they threatened to tear up the tracks, and the sheriff of the county had to be called in to protect the road. Sheriff's deputies appointed to protect the shippers helped the bears to spill the milk. At Warwick all the streets leading to the depôt (station) were barricaded with ropes. It took eight men, armed with clubs, guns, and pistols, to guard one man collecting milk. Peace was declared March 24, 1883. A committee of the farmers and a committee of the milkmen, representing 800 dealers in New York, Brooklyn, and Jersey City, agreed upon a fixed price for each month until April 1884, ranging from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 cents a quart according to the time of year. The organization of farmers spread until it covered Delaware, Orange, and Sullivan counties in New York, and Hanterton and Sussex counties in New Jersey. March 22nd of this year the farmers' committee and that of the milk dealers' organization, known to the honest farmers as the Pump Handle Association, met again, agreed on the prices for another twelvemonth, and this year there will be no milk war.

The dispute in Boston was fought out on the same lines, and one of its incidents was the gift of a cheque for a hundred dollars for milk to be spilled in the interest of the producers.

Medicine, no less than food, comes under the ban of monopoly and a "drug war" followed closely on the great offensive campaign of the New York dairy farmers. The manufacturers of patent medicines organized in 1883, and were speedily followed by the wholesale and retail druggists, allied against traitors to the law of high prices and the rivalry of interlopers in their trade. Their line of action included the subdivision of the United States into districts, each supervised by a delegate commissioned to report upon any druggist guilty of the high crime and misdemeanour of "cutting prices," with ostracism or expulsion as its penalty. A great quinine pool, constituted in 1883, and including the seventeen leading manufacturers in America, Great Britain, and Europe at large, advanced prices for a time 20 cents per ounce, but went to pieces early in 1884.

The crystallization of commercial society into reciprocally antagonistic groups was portrayed in its action in the evidence of President Gowan, of the Reading Railroad, before a Committee of the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1875. In justification of the coal combination as a self-protecting society, he said :—

Every pound of rope that we buy for our vessels or for our mines is bought at a price fixed by a committee of the rope manufacturers of the United States. Every keg of nails, every paper of tacks, all our screws and wrenches and hinges, the boiler flues for our locomotives are never bought except at the prices fixed by the representatives of the mills that manufacture them. Fire-brick, gas-pipe, terra cotta pipe for drainage, every keg of powder we buy to blast coal, are purchased under the same arrangement. Every pane of window-glass in this house was bought at a scale of prices established exactly in the same way. White lead, galvanized sheet iron, hose, belting, and files are bought at a rate determined in the same way. When my friend Mr. Lane was called upon to begin his speech the other day, and wanted to delay because the stenographer had not arrived, I asked Mr. Collins, the stenographer of your committee, if he would not act. He said, no, it was against the rules of the Committee of Stenographers. I said "Well, Mr. Collins, I will pay you anything you ask. I want to get off." "Oh," said he, "prices are established by our combination, and I cannot change them." And when we come to the cost of labour, which enters more than anything else into the cost of coal, we are met by a combination there, and are often obliged to pay the price asked by it.

The organized system of trade reprisals thus flourishing and spreading in America has only recently found favour on anything approaching to so large a scale in Europe. The law in some

countries, and public opinion in others, have hitherto prevailed against the principle of commercial conspiracy, while the great area of supply available puts practical difficulties in the way of its adoption. The concentration of the coal trade of the North of England in the hands of a few large firms enabled them to form a combination during the last century, on the basis of increase of price and restriction of output. Another class of monopoly was attempted in Rome some years ago by a ring of speculators, who bought up the food supply of the city at the gates, in order to retail it at famine prices. Their operations were, however, cut short by the intervention of the authorities, and the *bagarrini*, as they were called, were summarily lodged in gaol by scores and fifties. Their action directly contravened the paternal *régime* of the Italian cities, where a tariff of articles of prime necessity, bread, meat, wine, and petroleum, weekly fixed by the municipality, as by the old English assize of bread and ale, is publicly posted in all places where such articles are dealt in.

In London itself murmurs are occasionally heard as to the existence of an unholy league of butchers, while the danger of an over-abundant fish supply is said to be averted by the action of the Billingsgate dealers, in compelling smack-owners to restore to the sea all their captures over and above a fixed limit. In the Covent Garden trade a similar policy is pursued with regard to orchard produce, of which the surplus is destroyed in years of a bumper crop. Here a manifest wrong is done to the consumer, who suffers to the fact that a smaller sale at higher prices is more convenient or profitable to the dealer than a reign of cheap abundance.

This principle of artificial restriction of supply is the fundamental one of all syndicated trade, but it is only within the last two years that it has attained to scientific development on this side of the Atlantic. The year 1888 has been signalized by the rapid strides made in the general adoption of the system, and the German trading review, the *Handelsmuseum*, publishes a goodly list of the syndicates formed or projected during its term. Germany heads the list with forty-three, Austria comes next with fourteen, the United States and England follow with ten and nine respectively, Belgium is down for six, France, Russia, and Scandinavia for three, Switzerland and the East Indies for two each, and Japan for one.

But the attention of commercial circles has been mainly concentrated on the great French speculation, which during the year held the whole copper supply of the world in its clutch. The Italian adage, that "he who would clasp too much grips nothing," was verified by the result, and the disastrous collapse of the vast

experiment is a blow to the adoption of the system. The copper trade seemed to offer a tempting field for its exercise, as it was one of those in which a glut of the market had caused prices to fall below remunerative point. Copper production, from the principal sources in Chili, Spain, and Russia, had, down to 1870, maintained a steady average at prices varying from £80 to £90 per ton. The discovery of enormous deposits in Montana and the region of Lake Superior, together with the opening of new mines in Portugal and Venezuela, threw a double supply on the market, and prices fell in proportion, ranging in 1887 as low as £38 and £40 per ton. The interest of French financiers in the copper trade, which had originally been mainly in English hands, arose from the reorganization, under French auspices, of the company for working the Rio Tinto mines in Southern Spain, the largest deposit of the metal in Europe. The shares, 325,000 in number, of the nominal value of £10, had, under the previous management, dropped as low as £2, but, having been largely bought at that price in the Paris market, rose in 1881 to £30, and became one of the favourite investments on the Bourse. For the sale and manipulation of copper a large French company, the *Société des Métaux*, had been formed some little time previous to this date, by the amalgamation, under the auspices of the *Comptoir d'Escompte*, of two large firms, E. Secretan and J. J. Laveissière & Sons, who annually handled collectively 25,000 to 30,000 tons of copper, and consumed it, the former principally in the manufacture of cartridges, the latter of sheathing. The new company, brought out with a capital of 25 million francs in 50,000 shares of 500 francs each, continued to do a large and prosperous business, until the depressed state of the copper market early in 1887, reducing copper shares below par, and compelling many of the mines to close their works, tempted M. Secretan and his associates to form a syndicate for speculative dealings in the metal. All went well for a time, and, under the influence of the large purchases made by the society, the price of copper rose from £40 to £80, Rinto Tinto shares from 150 francs to 750 francs, and those of the *Société des Métaux* from 450 francs to 1200 francs. The next move was to extend the scope of its operations, and its capital being raised to fifty million francs, and an increased reserved fund created by the issue of 50,000 new shares at 150 francs premium, its organizers proceeded to carry out a gigantic scheme for buying up the entire copper supply of the globe. Contracts guaranteed by the principal banks were entered into with the leading mining companies, engaging to take their whole output at a minimum price of from £60 to £65 per ton, involving the purchase of 150,000 tons a year, at an outlay of £9,000,000. The conditions of the syndicate's existence rendered it, moreover, incumbent on it to purchase all

copper brought into the market from other sources, in order to maintain the monopoly price.

A double result followed this interference with the course of trade. Mine-owners, stimulated by the favourable terms offered, hurried forward production with feverish energy, while consumers hung back in the expectation of seeing prices, which touched £92 in August 1888, recede to their normal level. In the year ending September 1887, the total supply of copper to England and France amounted to 79,514 tons, and deliveries, equivalent to consumption, to 95,164, but the succeeding twelvemonths saw this ratio reversed, and the former figure advance to 125,094, while the latter diminished to 83,516. This disproportion continued to increase through the last quarter of 1888, at the close of which the visible supply of copper showed an increase in the year of 50,000 tons. Stocks in Liverpool had mounted up during the same period from 537 to 20,429 tons, while in France the figures of 1486, 2528, and 945 tons, for 1885, 1886, and 1887, had swollen to 39,593 for 1888. According to a balance-sheet compiled by the *Mining Journal* of January 26 1889, from various published statements, the syndicate had then on hands 150,000 tons of copper in this country, in America, and in the mines and workings of the Spanish companies, representing, at the estimated price of £68 per ton, a lock-up of capital to the amount of nearly nine and a quarter millions. Meantime, not only were new mines opened up, but supplies came in from unexpected quarters, used-up sheathing was melted down, and old copper made to do duty for new.

Under these circumstances, the French guarantors, becoming uneasy at their position, opened negotiations in London with a view to creating a new Copper Trust, with a capital of six millions, to take over the engagements of the existing syndicate, and reorganize it on an improved system. The mine-owners, however, having their present terms guaranteed by the banks, refused the revision of their contracts which was a *sine quâ non* with British capitalists. An attempt was then made to prop up the syndicate by the creation of the *Compagnie Auxiliaire des Métaux*, but the manœuvre inflicted at resh shock on its credit, and after the *Liquidation* on the Bourse at the beginning of February a heavy downward movement began in all copper securities. Distrust became panic when, on March 5, the news of the suicide of M. Denfert-Rochereau, manager of the *Comptoir d'Escompte*, raised a doubt as to the solvency of that great banking institution, known to be heavily involved in the metal speculation. In the run which followed, lasting for five days, a great financial disaster was only staved off by the unstinted assistance given by other banks to the one threatened. The first advance

of a million sterling was exhausted in a few hours, and a further loan of four millions from the coffers of the Bank of France was required, the Comptoir surrendering the whole of its assets as security. Meantime its shares, previously quoted as high as 1000 francs, at one time dropped to 245, those of the Metal Company from the previous maximum of 1200 francs to 80 francs, and Rio Tintos from 750 francs to 325 francs. The latter were, however, sustained by large purchases for the London market, where 35,000 were taken up in a single day. The immediate crisis was over within a week, and from March 11 a partial rally had set in.

The examination of the books of the Comptoir d'Escompte disclosed, however, the inextricable entanglement of its affairs with those of the copper speculation. Its whole capital and reserve, respectively £3,200,000 and £800,000, were embarked, one-third in copper, and two-thirds in second mortgages on copper, while it had guaranteed for two years the contracts of the Rio Tinto, Tharsis, and Cape Copper mines, thereby engaging to take 80,000 tons of the metal at from £60 to £65 per ton, should its partner in the venture fail to do so.

The position of the latter is also one of hopeless difficulty. It holds some 160,000 tons of copper, value about £10,000,000, in various parts of the world, but this stock is mortgaged to the Comptoir d'Escompte, the Crédit Lyonnais, and other banks, for loans to the amount of £6,800,000. This sum, with its own called up capital of £2,900,000, makes a total of £9,700,000 actually expended, while its contract obligations for the next two years impose the purchase of some 200,000 to 300,000 tons of copper yet to be delivered. The banks, however, have, as may be seen, full security for their advances in the metal assigned to them, but it is difficult to see how the liquidation both of the Comptoir d'Escompte and the Metals Company can be avoided.

Since, however, the forced sale of the vast overheld stock of copper must necessarily cause a disastrous depreciation in its value, the guarantors are anxious to obviate this necessity, and have resumed the negotiations with London, previously interrupted, for the constitution of a new Copper Trust, to carry on the business of the syndicate on an improved basis. It is thought that consumers and producers might find some equitable ground of agreement, in the common interests of all, by which price and supply should be so regulated as to prevent the violent fluctuations which threaten to dislocate the trade.

Second in importance only to the Copper Syndicate is the effort now being made to concentrate under a single management the supply of salt to the United Kingdom. The position of the trade was indeed so anomalous as to invite interference,

for competition had actually compelled manufacturers to sell at a loss of 100 per cent., the price of a ton of salt, which costs 4s. 6d. to raise, having gone down to 2s. 3d. It must not, however, be supposed that the customer was allowed to profit by this glut of the market, the retail price being kept up to $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb., or £4 13s. 4d. per ton, to the benefit of the middlemen. These figures seemed to justify the counter action of combination, which the limitation of the supply to native sources rendered feasible.

The principal of these are in Cheshire, and the method of extraction usually practised is that of pumping out natural brine from its subterranean reservoirs. Of the 2,193,951 tons raised in England in 1887, 660,000 tons, or 40lb. per head of population, may be put down for domestic consumption, 715,000 tons for chemical works, and the balance for exportation. The annual withdrawal of this mass from the subterranean deposits of a limited district gives rise to subsidences of the soil on a large scale, houses, roads, and bridges being often wholly or partially engulfed, and new lakes, called "flashes," created by the outflow of the underground waters over the sunken fields.

Negotiations for the amalgamation of all the Cheshire salt works, including those of the so-called "Salt King," resulted in the formation of a company, registered as the Salt Union, on October 9, 1888. A rise of 50 per cent. in the price of salt was the immediate result, affecting not alone the general consumer, but many important industries as well. Hydrochloric acid, sal ammoniac, and chlorine for bleaching, are all derived from common salt, an increase in the cost of which is equivalent to a tax on these products. It remains to be seen if the monopoly can be maintained, and we already hear of threatened competition in some newly opened works at Winsford, where brine was struck on January 9, at a depth of 210 feet.

Meantime the craze for syndicates grows apace, and no branch of business is too obscure to dignify itself with the talismanic title. A syndicate of laundresses has figured on the headings of the daily papers, and Madame Tussaud's popular exhibition has passed under the management of a syndicate of waxworks. English monopoly is invading the United States, where the breweries over a large area have been purchased by capitalists in this country, and America retaliates by the formation of a ring for the purchase of all the tinplate works in South Wales. The iron makers of Central Sweden, producing annually 200,000 tons, have formed one of these federations, the Belgian looking-glass manufacturers another, and the Austro-Hungarian cotton-spinners a third. International competition is being defied by

international combination, and the alliances of capital embrace the entire world in their operations. Wire and window glass, tin, zinc, and iron, Nobel's dynamite and lucifer matches are among the substances whose sale is now legislated for by European congresses of manufacturers.

The proposed Steel Rail Syndicate, designed to meet a fall in price, from £10 10s. per ton in 1870 to £4 1s. 6d. in 1888, includes English and German makers on the basis of a territorial division of the globe, the latter ceding the East Indian trade in consideration of being left a free field elsewhere. The fear of the railway companies establishing workshops of their own is here the bugbear that delays, and threatens to hinder the combination.

The mercantile community views these multifarious movements with considerable uneasiness, and a resolution condemnatory of them is to be submitted to the Associated Chambers of Commerce at their meeting in London on March 26, 27, and 28. The doings of the Salt Union have been the subject of a question in the House of Commons, but can scarcely be made a ground for legislative interference, since the existing law, condemning as criminal and illegal "all conspiracies wrongfully to prejudice a third party," or "to impoverish a man by preventing him from carrying on his trade," is not sufficiently elastic to cover combination against society at large. French law, though allowed to remain in abeyance, has more stringent provisions, since Article 449 of the Code Napoléon imposes a direct penalty of from 500 to 10,000 francs on combinations to raise the price of commodities against the public, while this is a milder version of the Draconian decree of 1793 against the *Accapareurs*, making exclusive dealing in articles of necessity a capital crime punishable by death and confiscation.

Despite the disfavour with which monopoly is regarded, it is not without its defenders, and some modern economists hold that a remedy for the prevailing industrial anarchy is to be sought in some form of intelligent co-operation between the various social forces now disorganized by mutual hostility. If we do not altogether agree with Professor Jevons,* that "under the unrestricted play of economic forces the worst possible form of industrial society comes to exist," we may at least look forward to an epoch in which the systematic co-ordination of those forces will become a matter of pressing social necessity. Syndicated trade, from this point of view, has its upholders on both sides of the Atlantic, and, while Mr. George Gunton takes up the cudgels on behalf of Trusts in the September number of the (*American*) *Political Science Quarterly*, Count de Mun contends for the

* "The State in Relation to Labour."

necessity of restoring the old trade guilds by combining workmen and employers in vast corporations of industry. Capital and Labour, now opposed in deadly antagonism, would then join hands against their common enemy the consumer, and *Caveat Emptor* would be the battle-cry of the new co-operative alliance. With the cleavage of class interests thus shifted, so as no longer to coincide with the line of least resistance in the body politic, a serious check would be given to the action of the disruptive forces threatening modern society; and some at least of the more urgent economic problems might be solved or set at rest by a reorganization of the great producing agencies of the world on the basis of a pacific feudalism, in which the interest of the lords of industry should be identical with those of their vassals.

E. M. CLERKE.

ART. IX.—ART AND THE PEOPLE.

NO one possessed of ordinary powers of observation will deny that there has been, during the last few years, a great advance in the direction of art; and that, side by side with this, has developed the desire of "bringing beauty home to the people." The evidences of this are on every side. We have societies, like the Kyrle Society, established for this especial purpose, having centres in many towns, and devoting itself to the advancement of art—decorative and musical—and literature, and to the providing and maintaining of open spaces for the recreation of the people. We have courses of lectures, not only at high prices for the rich and educated, but at fees which all but the very poorest can afford, and in places readily accessible to them; we have special exhibitions of pictures, such as the annual Easter exhibition at St. Jude's Schools, Whitechapel, to which our leading artists contribute. These, of course, in addition to such growing public collections as the National Gallery and the museums of London, and the similar institutions which ornament our principal provincial towns. The walls of our Free Libraries form a suitable ground for the cultivation of the art faculty.*

* It is to be regretted, however, that in some instances these must be regarded as lost opportunities. At Northampton, for example, the walls of the Free Library are covered with the Arundel Society's publications, but arrayed in such a manner—so crookedly hung and so inharmoniously placed—that the effect upon the beholder is the very reverse of that which is to be desired.

There is certainly some response among the people themselves to these efforts. At times, one is inclined to doubt this: the eccentricities and incongruities noticeable in the dress of women; the monstrosities—vulgar in colour, hideous in design, clumsy in form, device, and execution—which crowd the windows and counters of our china shops; the ridiculous and perverted taste which pervades much of our so-called “ornament”; these make one wonder whether the teachings of Ruskin and William Morris have not fallen on deaf ears. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the influence of what was called the æsthetic movement has had a beneficial effect upon the popular taste, in spite of the ludicrous exaggerations of some of its disciples, and of the ridicule so copiously showered upon it in the Philistine pages of *Punch* and elsewhere.* We no longer see the crude and inharmonious colours—the raw greens and assertive blues—which met our gaze some twenty or thirty years back; and although from time to time we have been threatened with a recrudescence of “mauve” and “magenta,” the infliction has hitherto been spared us. The hideous designs in pottery of various kinds are the outcome of a desire for ornament, although a perverted and misdirected one—that desire, indeed, which exists in all, even the lowest, and is manifested in such things as wax and shell flowers, the terrors of “Berlin wool-work,” the bygone arts of potichimanie and poonah painting, and the like.

One evidence of the advance in popular taste is to be found in the increased love of flowers in all classes, and notably among the poor, in our large towns. In country villages the cottage windows have indeed long been gay with carefully trained and copiously blooming geraniums, fuchsias, calceolarias, and the like; but the efforts which have been made in our large towns have had their effect. A lady who had resided for many years in one of our large Lancashire towns told me of the remarkable increase of cut flowers on the stalls at the weekly markets; and in London the increased demand for these is very marked, as is also the taste displayed in preparing them for sale. Some of the developments of this have been curious: what was called “the worship of the sunflower,” attributed to the æsthetes, rapidly extended to other blossoms of the same type; and the big moon-daisies or ox-eyes, which whiten our railway embankments or shine in the hayfields, have suddenly become marketable commodities, and are sent literally in sheaves to Covent Garden, whence they find their way

* This ridicule may, indeed, have had a different effect from that which it was intended to produce. Certainly, no one whose eyes had delighted in the exquisite colours and graceful drapings which characterized the earlier acts of “Patience,” could have felt anything but revulsion when the actors appeared in “every-day” and “commonplace” dresses in the last scene of the play.

to the West End drawing-room, to the street-vendor's basket, to the hospital ward, and the workhouse infirmary. Their brothers, the corn marigolds, have ceased to be hated weeds, and shed their golden glory upon the costly orchid or the delicate hothouse flower, to the company of which they now find themselves promoted. The marsh marigold is no longer left to "shine like fire in swamps and hollows gray," but, with its companion from the "meadow trenches," the "faint sweet cuckoo-flower," shines along our London streets, bringing a ray of brightness and something of its country surroundings into the dull and crowded thoroughfares. Bluebells, primroses, and cowslips are old favourites; not so those already named, which, with many more, owe their present position to the increased understanding and appreciation of the beauty of common things, which is one of the marks of the art development of the present day. The bright berries of autumn—the crimson of the guelder rose and dogwood, and the lustrous black of the privet—are also torn from their native hedges to adorn the London drawing-room; even the bronzed ivy-leaf and the glowing sprays of blackberry have been pressed into the service, and appear in market stalls and in street baskets.

I cannot resist adding here a little experience of my own—although I am aware that this is rather a rash thing to do—which touched me not a little. I had promised last spring to give a lecture to a club composed entirely of "Liberal and Radical" working men. Failing to find time for a more suitable subject, I talked about the English names of our wild flowers, their meanings, associations, and the like. I had a consciousness that the subject was not a particularly suitable one, and addressed myself to it with some nervousness, which was relieved when I saw that the attention of my audience was, at any rate, secured. At the end of the lecture, before the customary vote of thanks, I was surprised and delighted when one man after another got up to speak. One, I remember, had come from Northumberland, another from Kent, others from different parts of the country; they had not heard or thought of these flowers, as one of them said, since they used to go into the fields and gather them with their brothers and sisters, and this brought it all back to them. Did I know this? did I know that? And so the talk went on among these South London working men, whose dull hard lives seemed cheered by this reminder of earlier and brighter days. One man, the spokesman, I fancy, of several others, demurred a little to the subject and the talk which ensued. It was all very well, he said, for those who had been brought up in the country; but he had lived in Bermondsey all his life, and all the flowers he knew were in Southwark Park; and he didn't know a daisy from a cabbage! If I had brought some pictures so that they might

know what I was talking about, it would have been better. It seemed to me that this man, who had no brighter past to look back to, was even more pathetic than those whose memories I had awakened.

But the question of what influence art and nature, taken as a whole, have upon the people at large is far too wide to be treated in a paper like the present. I will therefore limit myself to one point, and say a few words about the educational influence of that form of art which is embodied in pictures, and the means by which it can be brought to bear upon the community.

The influence of pictures was probably never more attractive and powerful than at the present time: an idea which may seem strange to some, who are prone to think that teaching by the ear has superseded instruction by the eye. Go down some side street in any of our large towns, and you will see a group of people, boys and girls mostly, but men and women also, surrounding some small shop-window. What is the attraction? It is the last number of the *Police News*, with its weekly tale of crime and horror, graphically presented on its front page. This is the popular art gallery, attracting more visitors among the working classes in a single week than, I will venture to say, all the exhibitions and galleries in the kingdom do in a year, and bearing its natural fruit when some epidemic of crime seems to sweep the country. The large class of 'boys' papers has been greatly improved of late years; our comic and other weekly illustrated papers, if not always refined, are at any rate decent; and there is an increasing number of periodicals which depend mainly on their illustrations for their attraction, and many of these are of a high order of excellence. The coloured pictures given with the more expensive illustrated papers have become of real art value, and their popularity has brought good work into many a home which otherwise would never be reached by it. Indeed, it must be regretfully admitted that even our advertisements have become artistic; our street walls have lately been covered with a really beautiful reproduction of a picture by one whom some of us mourn as a "lost leader." The result of this lowering of art to the purposes of advertisement can hardly be satisfactory; it is little less than the prostitution of talent to make it subsidiary to the sale of a soap.

Abundance of good and cheap art, then, undoubtedly exists; it remains to be seen how it can be employed as a means of education. At present I know of only one place in which the educational value of art is demonstrated, and that is at the Manchester Art Museum, established in Ancoats Hall, not so many years ago an agreeable country residence, but now the centre of the most dreary district of a dreary city. This unique institution owes its efficiency, and to a large extent its existence, to the munificence of Mr. T. C.

Horsfall, who has devoted to it time and thought, as well as money, and has shown how truly instructive such a place may be made. Mr. Horsfall has prepared a "Handbook" to the museum, (containing eighty-one well-printed pages, and sold for a penny), which is full of interesting information regarding the various objects exhibited. It begins with an introduction, "On the Right Way of Using the Art Museum," which explains in simple language the use and value of pictures and other works of art—a line of thought which the same writer has worked out in fuller detail in another penny pamphlet, "What to Look for in Pictures." The aim of the Museum is thus summed up :

In the Manchester Art Museum the collections have been chosen and arranged for the purpose of making it as easy as possible for persons quite ignorant of art to acquire the knowledge and the habits needed to enable them to feel the best influences of works of art. As far as possible, the information respecting the subjects of pictures, which is needed for their proper understanding, is given on labels which are placed by them.

The last sentence draws attention to one of the ways in which this Manchester collection is in advance of any others of the kind—although the same idea is carried out in the beautiful gallery presented by Miss Marianne North to the Royal Gardens of Kew, which also merits notice in this context on account of the excellent descriptive handbook which is published at the cost of fourpence. Who that has watched the working man strolling through a picture-gallery—in the rare cases in which he has time, opportunity, or inclination to go inside—can fail to notice his absolute ignorance and consequent want of interest as to the subjects presented to him, and the absence of any attempt to make them intelligible to him? I do not mean to imply that those higher in the social scale are necessarily better informed. I remember being greatly delighted in the Exhibition of 1862, at the attempts of two old ladies to adapt a series of coloured sketches representing scenes from Dante's "Inferno" to the "Pilgrim's Progress." Of course, certain pictures explain themselves; but a great many need explanation, such as is afforded in the admirable catalogue issued in connection with the Easter exhibition of pictures which has now been carried on for nine years at St. Jude's Schools, Whitechapel. These are lent to every visitor, and may be bought for a penny; and it is interesting to watch the satisfaction with which the working folk, who largely visit this exhibition, hunt out the numbers and read the descriptions. Perhaps the explanations are a little over the heads of many of the visitors, and I always wonder what they make out of Mr. Watts's pictures, or such mystic works as Rossetti's "How They Met Themselves;" but it

is not a bad thing for folk to have something presented to them which is rather in advance of their actual knowledge.*

One Sunday afternoon I took a party of working lads to the St. Jude's Exhibition, and was much struck by the way in which Mr. Barnett was explaining to those who chose to follow his guidance, the meaning and history of the different pictures—so unobtrusively that there was no interference with the quiet enjoyment of those who preferred to wander round with the catalogue as their guide. It would be easy to organize in London, and in our larger towns, parties for visiting the museums and galleries, under the leadership of some one qualified to act as guide. There is no lack among us of folk with cultured taste who could so act; and what could be more calculated to interest our older school-children than occasional Saturday excursions of this kind? For the mass of our London people, the National Gallery and the British Museum must remain closed books until they are open on Sundays, or at least on the evenings of weekdays; but children could be taken on Saturdays, and the South Kensington Museum is open until ten on three nights of each week.

It would be interesting to know what Catholics are doing in this direction, or if they are doing anything at all; and if not, why not? Take London, for example. We have the National Gallery, which, according to Mr. Ruskin, "is now, for the purposes of the general student, without question the most important collection of paintings in Europe." We have the Museums—the old British Museum in the heart of London; its offshoot, the Natural History Museum, in the West, the South Kensington Museum, and the Bethnal Green Museum. There is Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's, and the Tower—not to mention numerous other smaller centres of attraction. There are thousands of Catholic children in London who have never set foot in one of these places; there are hundreds of well-to-do Catholics surrounded in their own homes with art and beauty and comfort of every kind: will not some of these come forward—women more especially, but men as well—and band themselves together into some organization for "bringing beauty home to the people," even if they cannot introduce it to their homes—and especially

* It would be interesting to know what the residents in Whitechapel think of Mr. Watts's great picture of "Time, Death, and Judgment," which is presented in mosaic on the front of St. Jude's, Whitechapel. I have heard it suggested that the two principal figures are considered to be bad likenesses of Mr. and Mrs. Barnett, but this is hardly probable. But one wonders whether the Manger at Bethlehem, or "the Maid Mother by a crucifix," would not convey lessons more necessary and more intelligible to those who dwell in the courts and alleys of East London.

to the children, who are so soon to be the fathers and mothers of a new generation? Such an undertaking would give little trouble, and involve only a small expense. The places I have named are within easy access by train or tram from every part of London. Saturday is a holiday in our poor schools; why should it not be spent from time to time in such places as these?

This kind of work appeals to folk of all creeds and of none; but have not we Catholics special reasons for undertaking it? At the National Gallery, for example, what lessons may not be drawn, not only from the religious paintings themselves, and the scenes which they represent, but from the ocular demonstration of what the Church has done for art, and how her sons felt that their devotion to her could not be more fittingly shown than by recording on their canvass, with the most loving care, the glories of those whom she holds up for our veneration and imitation. Is it possible for even the least educated child to look at the inexpressibly touching "Pietà" of Francia without a deeper realization of the sorrows of the "Mater Dolorosa":

Quis est homo qui non fletet
Christi Matrem si videret
Dolentem cum Filio?

Children will have a more exalted notion of the Church and her claims to be regarded as the mistress, not only of spiritual, but also of temporal learning, if they see for themselves what was done by Catholics of old time for the glory of their faith. We suffer more than we think from the poverty of our accessories in a country like England. It is curious to note how frequently the question "Is that a Catholic church?" rises to the lips of our poorer brethren, if they see in a picture some solemn procession, or the splendour of some stately cathedral in other lands. And I cannot help thinking that the saintly figures of a Raffaele, a Perugino, an Angelico, a Pinturricchio, and the like, would inculcate increased respect for the Church, whose children both painters and subjects were, and that this would react in an increase of proper pride, in being a member of the same Church.

From another point of view, too, the instruction so given would be valuable. No one who has not looked into the matter would realize how little our people know of the lives of the Saints. The old-fashioned Protestant notion that the Saints usurped the place of our Lord in popular devotion, is even more inaccurate than most of such notions. When I became a Catholic, I expected to find the *cultus* of the Saints advocated from the pulpit, and their lives forming the text for numerous exhortations; but it rather seems to me remarkable how little use is made of these

wonderful incentives to work and devotion. Even well-instructed lads, who attended school regularly and are careful in performing their religious duties, often know next to nothing of the histories of the Saints. The Kyrle Society lately presented our club with a handsomely framed "Arundel," after Benozzo Gozzoli, representing our Lady and various Saints; and I was surprised to find that none of the members knew anything about St. Christopher or St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and that even the "sweet St. Francis of Assisi" was but a name to them. Surely this is a point which requires attention, especially in these days, when St. Francis has become a popular figure in the hero-gallery of agnostic schools, and when there is a growing tendency to dissociate the Saints from the Church and creed which made them what they were. We much need a more extended literature in this direction: the Truth Society's penny Biographies are a little too advanced for youthful readers, for whom Father Chisholm's Lives are better adapted; the "Stories of the Saints," by "M. F. S.," are excellent, but too dear; and none of these are equal in impressiveness or beauty of style to the series of little books in which the late Dr. Neale presented to Anglicans some of the more striking incidents of saintly lives.

But this is a digression—relevant only so far as it illustrates the teaching power of pictures, and the important use, from a religious point of view, which may be made of them. In this respect, some of the coloured pictures published at Bruges, and largely taken up by the Truth Society, are of value, especially such as have in the background one or two scenes from the life of the Saint who is depicted. In the picture of St. Laurence, for instance, there are two little groups, one representing him giving alms to the poor, the other his glorious martyrdom, which are just the things to interest a Sunday-school or catechism class, and these pictures are cheap as well as good.

There is yet another aspect of the matter. If we do not ourselves use pictures as teachers, and point out the lessons they convey, others do so. I have already referred to the Guides to the Whitechapel Exhibition, and it is impossible not to acknowledge the care with which the pictures of the Middle Ages which appeal especially to men at the present day are put forward and emphasized. The following may be taken as an illustration of this, and will serve also to show the lines on which the catalogues are prepared:

St. Madeleine, Troyes.

Wyke Baylis.

A picture of a Cathedral built by men of long ago in the spirit of sacrifice, which is one of the lamps of noble architecture. In these

latter days what men desire is to produce the largest results at the least cost; in what we call the dark ages, men built their temples as if no cost of labour or of stones could be enough—"neither will I offer unto the Lord my God of that which dost cost me nothing." It is to this spirit that we owe such buildings as the artist has here painted—"their vaulted gates, trellised with close leaves; their window labyrinths of tinted tracery and starry light; their misty manes of multitudinous pinnacle and diademed tower; the only instance, perhaps, that remain to us of a faith and fear of nations. They have taken with them to the grave their powers, their honours, and their errors; but they have left us their adoration."—RUSKIN: *Seven Lamps of Architecture*.

The sacrifice of the builder is repeated in that of the worshippers; one woman is seeking comfort, while others are going to make their offerings of light and flowers.

"Brother Francis and Brother Sun."

G. Costa.

St. Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan Order, and the chief Apostle of Works in the Middle Ages, was a great preacher of Poverty and Chastity, but a great preacher also of the Wealth of Beauty in God's Universe. For him everything had meaning and beauty; the birds he called his sisters, the sun his brother. This picture is painted to illustrate his "Creatures' Song"—"the finest religious poem since the Gospels;"—he is looking from Perugia to Assisi, and watching "brother sun" rise over Monte Subasio. It must have been on such a day that he raised his song of praise and thanksgiving:

Praised by His creatures all,
Praised be the Lord my God,
By Messer sun, my brother above all,
Who by his rays, lights us and lights our days—
Radiant is she, with his great splendour stored,
Thy glory, Lord, confessing.

But other explanations* are less satisfactory—viewed, I mean, from a Catholic standpoint, from which of course I am regarding them. The note on Mr. Briton Rivière's "Eve of St. Bartholomew" could hardly be otherwise; but the following note, on a picture by a Catholic artist, seems to me far more dangerous than any direct attack upon Christianity:—

The Entombment.

Mme. Arendrup.

A life of good doing is ended. Christ has lived his life, conquered sin, braved misunderstanding, and chosen death rather than sacrifice

* The following extract, from the Exhibition opened since these pages went to press, is a further illustration of the appreciative nature of these notices:—"Cardinal Manning (*Edwin Long, R.A.*). The rich cardinal's robe is grand, but the face is grander. It tells of thought about deep things and of feeling for the sorrows of men. It is the face of a man who by prayer and fasting turns out evil."

of principle. At length his weary body finds rest in death; and the last act of love has to be paid to the dead Friend. The mother, overwhelmed by sorrow, longs to bathe his body with her tears, and does not know that goodness is eternal. Joseph, who professed little, feels much, and in vain waits for an answer to his question. The sinning Mary, uncontrolled as ever, now understands what sin really is, and is carried away by a passion of tears, while John, dumb with grief, recalls His strong loving words, and even hopes for those who slew Him. The sun sets behind the walls of Jerusalem, and shows that Nature, even to broken hearts, can live in Rest and Peace. But the Mother and Friends have yet to learn that through death comes life, through pain joy, and through darkness light.

True as it may be in a sense, this is certainly not the explanation which a Catholic would give of a subject such as this. But it represents fairly enough one tendency of present-day teaching, and if we would counteract it, it must be by definite teaching of our own. It may well be that matters more important prevent Catholics from organizing picture exhibitions, although the Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition held in 1885, in connection with St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, was in its way a great success, and showed the richness and variety of material at our disposal for such an undertaking; but there can be no reason why we should not utilize for teaching purposes the public galleries which are open to our use, and which, so soon as legislators have realized that to open the drinkshops and close the museums is an inadequate method of Sunday observance, will be yet more available for the benefit of the people.

But, besides the good results which could hardly fail to follow a course of visits by parties of children to our galleries and museums, there is much to do in the schools themselves. Our statues and pictures are too often faulty in design, poor in execution, and vulgar in colouring—a fact due largely, but not entirely, to the necessity of providing them at a low cost. Here, again, we should do well to avail ourselves of the various opportunities which are offered by various societies. The Arundel Society's chromo-lithographs are of permanent value, although somewhat expensive; but the large cartoons illustrating Church history, lately issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the similar pictures of Scriptural subjects published by the Religious Tract Society, leave little to be desired. I am, of course, speaking purely from an art standpoint; some may object to taking for our use the productions of non-Catholic bodies; but these pictures are bright without being vulgar, bold and effective in design, and cost only 2s. 6d. each, retail price, mounted on canvas. So far as the Church history series of the S.P.C.K. has gone, there are none which are not suitable for Catholic schools

or clubs; the pictures of St. Gregory in the Roman slave-market and of the Coming of St. Augustine may be mentioned as specially effective; and the anachronisms are very few—although it is quite certain that there were no sunflowers in the garden of Crowland Abbey at the time of its sacking by the Danes, and it is hardly likely that St. Thomas of Canterbury was wearing a chasuble on the afternoon of his martyrdom.

A sense of the importance of work of this kind has led to the establishment of the Art for Schools Association, of which a detailed account will be found in the "Catholic Annual" for this year. This Society was founded in 1883, with the following objects:—

- (1.) To negotiate with Art Publishers for the purchase of engravings, photographs, etchings, chromo-lithographs, &c., on advantageous terms, and to supply them at reduced prices to schools.
- (2.) To reproduce works of art especially suitable to schools, and to publish the same at the lowest prices possible.
- (3.) To lend, and occasionally to give, groups of framed engravings, photographs, &c., to poor schools.
- (4.) To assist in, or otherwise promote, oral instruction, such as may explain the works of art in our National Collections, and those supplied to schools by the help of the Association.

How far the Society has succeeded in its aims may be gathered from the fact that in the first four years of its existence it placed in circulation no less than 7967 pictures and studies; the Report for 1887 contains a full list of these, which is summarized as follows:—

Historical Pictures	914
Subject Pictures: Works of Old Masters	1032
Subject Pictures: Works of Modern Schools	2427
Studies of Natural Objects	3594
	<hr/>
	7967

The works of old masters selected, it may be noted, are mainly religious, three of Raffaele's Madonnas occupying leading positions.* How many of these went to Catholic schools, I know not; but I fail to detect a single Catholic name in the list of schools supplied during 1887. And yet, besides those mentioned, there is no lack of subjects which should be of especial interest to Catholics, such as the beautiful autotype of the Bartolozzi engraving of Blessed Thomas More, to which a companion portrait

* The actual numbers are: Belle Jardinière Madonna, 102; Gran Duca Madonna, 142; Madonna della Seggiola, 104.

of Blessed John Fisher has just been added. Pictures like these, and the history of those whom they represent, should be constantly before those whom we are training up in the faith for which More and Fisher died.

The lending of pictures to schools is one of the many beneficent schemes which is engaging Mr. Horsfall's attention. When it is in working order, it is to be hoped that our Catholic schools will avail themselves of the opportunity. Meanwhile, there must be many among us who could lend a picture or two from their own walls, and who might render the loan more useful by occasionally giving an informal talk to some of the children about the subject represented. Care should be taken that the pictures lent or presented are in some degree worthy of the subjects portrayed; we must guard against the too common fallacy that because "children like bright colours," any vulgar daub or coarse parody is sufficient for the parish schoolroom. Will the time ever come, I wonder, when a loving copy of some Angelico or Raffaele will take the place in our churches of the sentimental and crude presentments which so often stand in lieu of religious art at the present day?

One great need, which art-lovers of all creeds and none might combine to supply, is that of cheap good and popular literature bearing on art matters. We want, in fact, for art a society analogous to the Catholic Truth Society: founded in the same humble way and securing, as it doubtless would do, similar hearty co-operation, it would soon achieve a similar success. At present, just as was the case with Catholic literature when the Catholic Truth Society was instituted, there is much excellent matter in existence, but so difficult of access as to be practically unknown. How many readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW—or even of magazines of more general circulation—have heard of Mr. Horsfall's "Handbook to the Manchester Art Museum," "What to Look for in Pictures," or "Suggestions for a Guide-Book to Life"—each published in Manchester at a penny; or of Mr. Patrick Geddes' "Every Man his own Art Critic," which, although issued at a higher price, would doubtless be obtainable at as low a cost as the above, were there a sufficient demand. Had such a society been in existence, it would have secured the separate issue at a similar price of the admirable essays which were prefixed to the Catalogue of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition of last autumn; and it would have prevented the withdrawal of the admirable illustrated introductions to the Industrial Arts, which were originally issued as penny pamphlets by the Committee of Council on Education at South Kensington, but, on account of the small demand, can now be obtained only in their collected form. We want penny Lives of the great artists, among whom Catholics

claim their full share; stories of celebrated pictures and buildings, like the Shepherd's Tower of Florence, of world-wide fame; penny Guides to the different periods represented in our art galleries and museums; essays conveying in accessible form the life-teaching of John Ruskin; everything, in short, which can help to make Art intelligible to the people, as it must be before it can be loved and valued by them.

Much as has already been done, much more remains to do; and it can best be performed by an organization such as I have sketched. Once started, it will soon become self-supporting, or it may ally itself to one of the excellent societies already existing, such as the Art for Schools Association. There will be no lack of workers and writers, and the readers will follow on their track: all that is wanted is the start, and the time has come when a start should be made.

JAMES BRITTEN.

ART. X.—THE GOVERNMENT AND HIGHER
EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

1. *Eleven Articles on "Ireland and Catholic Education,"* Dec. 10, 1887, to Feb. 18, 1888: *Tablet*.
2. *Calendars of the Royal University.*
3. *Speech by the Bishop of Limerick: Tablet*, Nov. 12, 1887.

WE must sorrowfully admit that the position of the Higher Education of Irish Catholics is a standing reproach to our government of Ireland. It has been before the country in one form or another for more than half a century, and it still remains unsolved. There has been during all this long period scarcely a year in which it has not been the subject of discussion. Efforts have been made to deal with it. Looking back dispassionately on the past, we are bound to admit that those efforts were honest according to the lights and information of those who made them. Sir Robert Peel, Lord Mayo, Mr. Gladstone, all tried their hands and failed. What wonderful things have been done during those fifty and odd years! The Corn Laws and the Navigation Laws have been repealed; our whole customs and financial system have been reconstructed; Australia has come into existence; the Dominion of Canada has been created. We have seen two great

Reform Acts revolutionize our whole political machinery, practically transforming our State into a democracy. We need not dwell on the change between the position which the Catholic Church occupies in these islands to-day and that which it held at the Queen's accession. Ireland, too, has seen wonderful changes; two sweeping Land Acts have made changes which seventy years ago would have been regarded as outside the bounds of possibility, and every one seems to be agreed that great as those changes have been, they were but the forerunner of others greater still.

The question of Higher Education in Ireland was treated in a series of articles which appeared in the *Tablet* little more than a year ago. These articles dealt with the question exhaustively, and attracted considerable attention among politicians and others in England. The gist of them was to show that one thing remains a grievance, an admitted grievance, about which there is practically no controversy. Yet there it is, as indefensible as it was years ago, or rather far more indefensible, because of the greatly increased information about it, and the increased liberality of sentiment. For a grievance is always more galling when those who suffer know that those who can remove it are well aware of its injustice, but neglect to redress it, either from want of courage or from mixed motives of policy and dislike.

Why is this the case? Why is the question of Higher Education in Ireland shunned by politicians and statesmen as if it were a quicksand, fated to engulf all who venture on it? As a matter of fact, it is no longer a problem. There is now neither an *x* nor a *y* in it from beginning to end; all the quantities are well known. Or, to borrow another illustration, every inch of the road has been minutely surveyed and mapped out by very competent engineers engaged for opposing interests. There is a general *consensus* among all who have any claim to be heard on this question; a *consensus* not only as to principle, but also as to general details. This has not been always the case. It is a result arrived at by the slow process of what we may call the education of a nation. Fifty or sixty years ago, the English people would not have comprehended a demand that Catholics should, in all the details of their life, public and private, social and political, in the face of the State, as in domestic intercourse, stand on a footing of perfect equality with the members of the Established Church. The thing would have seemed too monstrous. This was so, not because of any want of good nature or kindly feeling towards their Catholic fellow-subjects, but from sheer absence of those preliminary notions and information necessary to understand the question at issue. But the great mass of non-Catholic Englishmen have learned a vast deal of useful knowledge during

the half century that lies behind us, and they now understand that their Catholic fellow-subjects have the same rights as they have themselves, and that the Catholic people of Ireland are no more to be treated as though they were English Protestants than English Protestants are to be legislated for as though they were Irish Catholics. So far as the leading statesmen of the kingdom are concerned, there has been no substantial difference since Lord Mayo's speech in the House of Commons at the beginning of the Session of 1868 on the state of Ireland. The Conservative Government of that day fully admitted that the educational arrangements in Ireland were not such as ought to satisfy Irish Catholics. The same thing had been admitted nearly three years before by their Liberal predecessors; and Mr. Gladstone's great speech in 1873, when introducing his own Irish University measure, proclaimed the same fact. The years that followed saw fruitless attempts to bring about a settlement, made by the late Mr. Butt and the O'Connor Don. There was not a word of objection to the proposals made by those gentlemen so far as principle went. Let any one go to the pages of Hansard for the speech made in June 1877 by Sir Stafford Northcote, then leader of the House of Commons. He, speaking for the Government, did not differ from the Irish members as to the object in view, or the groundwork of their scheme of settlement. The time for dealing with it was too short, and the responsibility of recommending a scheme for the acceptance of Parliament ought to be assumed by the Government of the country. Nothing that has occurred since, not a word spoken in Parliament, has altered the situation. The leading statesmen on both sides of the House have explicitly professed their acceptance of suggestions for an arrangement, which it is well known would be welcomed by the Catholics of Ireland. Indeed, it should be borne in mind, that the last two years of Lord Beaconsfield's Administration saw the passing of two educational measures, which, however imperfect, were undoubtedly prompted by a desire to meet the wishes of the Catholics of Ireland in the matter of education. We refer to the Act of 1878, creating the Irish Commission of Intermediate Education, and the University Education (Ireland) Act of 1879, under which the Royal University of Ireland was established in the following year. The latter measure, especially, was avowedly intended to provide what we may call a provisional remedy for a grievance that was sorely felt and had been long complained of. But any one who will take the trouble of referring to the reports of what was said while the Bill was passing through the House of Lords will see that, in the minds and intentions of its authors, this was only a temporary measure, or rather, a partial and imperfect scheme which would need to be largely supplemented afterwards,

if it were to achieve the objects aimed at. It was only a sketch, a fragment of a piece of systematic legislation. But, unhappily, the opportunity for completing it never came; the Conservative Administration, which had conceived the idea of putting Irish education on a satisfactory footing, was dismissed from office, and their successors had to deal with problems of greater complexity and much more difficult to solve.

But, although the Royal University is an incomplete institution, it has done very useful work, and has fully justified the anticipations of some of those who recommended its creation. It has proved beyond cavil that certain notions that prevailed about the teaching of Catholic Colleges were the merest prejudice, absolutely destitute of foundation or substance. The University has been in operation for some six or seven years, it has held examinations in all the branches of knowledge that enter into the work of the other Universities of the United Kingdom—the ancient and modern languages, logic, political economy, and the kindred studies, mathematics, the experimental sciences, biology, medicine, engineering. In all those departments students from the Irish Catholic Colleges have not merely held their own, but have achieved brilliant successes. It is to be borne in mind that the examiners who conducted the examinations were selected from the Queen's Colleges, as well as from other institutions, so that the merits of the candidates were tested by what some might regard as a hostile tribunal, but what all must admit was not one partial to Catholics. Catholic young men showed that in every branch of knowledge they had acquired information quite on a level, we will not say anything more, with what was to be had at the Queen's Colleges. It is quite plain, therefore, that the various branches of secular learning can be taught, and, in fact, are taught, just as well by Catholic teachers in Catholic institutions as they are in colleges under the management of Protestants or persons burdened with no religious convictions at all. We will only add one observation on a matter of the gravest practical importance. Within the last few weeks the writer of these lines heard a person, highly qualified to express an opinion on the subject, state, in a mixed assembly, not in Ireland, but here in England, that the medical examinations of the Royal University of Ireland were second to none in the United Kingdom in their searching character, in the high standard of proficiency required from the candidates, and in the thoroughly practical character of the examinations. At every stage of those examinations students from the solitary Catholic Medical School in Ireland have won the highest honours, showing that their traditions and their religion have been no hindrance to their acquisition of thorough scientific knowledge.

The case of Higher Education in Ireland stands, therefore, thus : There are three Queen's Colleges, at Belfast, Cork, and Galway, which are supported altogether by money paid out of the Imperial exchequer, amounting in round numbers to about £10,000 a year for *each* college. We are particularly desirous of avoiding every topic of a polemical character ; but we may be allowed the observation that the Belfast College, which has nearly four times the number of students that are at Galway, draws a smaller sum from the public treasury. But the Catholic Colleges which train students in all the subjects that are taught in the Queen's Colleges, do not receive a penny of public money to aid their work. Candidates from all these institutions present themselves at the examinations of the Royal University, pass through the same tests, and are examined by the same examiners. Students from the unendowed Catholic Colleges have been found to possess just as accurate information, as perfect knowledge of their subjects, as those who came from the Queen's Colleges. They have in the literary and scientific competitions won as high distinctions and shown as conspicuous merit. The Irish Catholics naturally ask why should the State support three Queen's Colleges for the training of non-Catholic students, and refuse to give a penny towards the support of a Catholic College, whose students prove themselves in an identical examination to be at least the equals of their competitors from the Queen's Colleges ? Let us put a concrete case. A youth goes up to Dublin from Cork for an examination in the ordinary subjects of an Arts course. He has been taught and trained by professors paid out of the Consolidated Fund ; he has had the assistance of a library, stocked with books on the subjects of his studies all up to date. If engaged in any experimental or cognate work, he has had training in laboratories and museums admirably equipped and furnished, and the help of competent assistants at every stage of his work. The Catholic student has had none of those helps, except so far as private benevolence or religious charity has provided some scanty eleemosynary aid to lighten his labours. The stipends of his professors, where they have any, are barely sufficient to meet their most necessary expenses. For books and instruments, for libraries, laboratories, and museums, he has to be thankful for what private and uncertain effort may place within his reach. Why, it may be asked, do not the Catholic students go to those well-equipped Queen's Colleges ? Why do they prefer their own institutions so scantily and ill-provided with all the accessories of teaching ? The reason is perfectly well known. It is, indeed, obvious on the face of it. They go to their own places for conscience sake. They, or their parents, prefer instruction in a religious atmosphere, despite the

drawbacks and shortcomings that may attend it, to the more complete system of secular instruction divorced from religion. We submit that this is not an arguable matter. The great statesman who devised the Queen's Colleges planned them for the benefit, for the educational advancement, of the Irish people. His aim was not to force the people into a groove of his own, but to place at their disposal means of improvement. He did not know that his scheme was clogged with conditions which prevented the realization of his hopes. We are convinced he would have flung his own project to the winds, rather than endeavour to force it upon people who could not honestly accept its liberality. A man who abandoned the traditions and prejudices in which he had been reared, and by the defence of which he had risen to fame and power, and had carried the Emancipation Act and the Maynooth Act, and had repealed the Corn Laws, because he was convinced of the justice of his change of policy—this man would never have entertained the idea of forcing on an unwilling people a system of education of which they could not conscientiously avail themselves. Had things been left as they were, this would have been, in the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, a scandal and a disgrace. We do not see how the evil is mitigated by the creation of a fresh grievance. The system of the Queen's Colleges, designed for the benefit of all her Majesty's Irish subjects, is not acceptable to the Catholics of Ireland, has not been accepted by them, because of the absence of all connection with religion. Is it just, is it fair to them that, while the Irish Protestants, who form only a fragment of the population of the country, have been able to avail themselves fully of the advantages of what was intended to be a provision for the whole nation, because they found in it nothing clashing with their principles, the Catholics must forego *in toto* all the benefits in which they were primarily intended to participate, because their participation was made dependent upon conditions inconsistent with their religious principles? To say so would be to take us back to the days of Queen Elizabeth and the Penal Code.—Trinity College was set up in Dublin avowedly to spread education in Ireland, but an education that was to be Protestant. The Diocesan Schools, the Royal Schools of James I., the Erasmus Smith Schools, and University endowments established by a military adventurer of the Commonwealth, the educational institutions set up in the last century were all on the same lines, faithful to the maxim :

Servetur ad imum
Qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet.

Every one of those undertakings aimed at the improvement of

the Irish people as the thing was understood by their authors; they were all to extend and advance education in Ireland on a *Protestant basis*. What an irony of fate it is, that institutions founded by Sir Robert Peel for the benefit of the Catholics of Ireland, should be classed with those other institutions which were designed to educate Irish Catholics indeed, but to do so by turning them into Protestants.

But it may be said that the number of youths receiving a Higher Education in Catholic Colleges is not so great as to justify the dislocation of existing arrangements. We protest, in the first instance, against the suggestion that what we are dealing with at present should involve any "dislocation of existing arrangements." These arrangements may, or may not, be defensible on general grounds of public policy; but as we hope to show, a remedy for the grievance we are considering can be found without touching them. As to the number of Catholic youths at present following higher studies, without going into the question of the number pursuing them independently of the State universities, we may turn to the calendars of the Royal University. The names of the candidates who pass its several examinations, and the names of the institutions at which they have been trained, are herein published year by year.

We have before us summaries compiled from those calendars. We omit all reference to the matriculation examination, and for greater facility of reference, we will not go further back than the year 1885. There are three university examinations in order to the taking of a degree in Arts. These are:—The first university examination, held a year after matriculation; the second university examination in Arts, which takes place a year later; and the B.A. examination. In the following tables we give the total numbers of those who passed those examinations in each of the four years—1885, '86, '87, '88; and the number of *Honours* obtained at those same examinations. We should explain that in the two earlier examinations the University awards honours for the separate subjects—*e.g.*, Greek, French, Mathematics, Chemistry; hence it may easily happen that the number of honours awarded may exceed the number passing an examination, one student taking two, three, or even more honours. We give the principal colleges out of which the students came who passed, or won honours, in the examination of the Royal University. These are—the three Queen's Colleges and the two Catholic Colleges which have been foremost in this competition. Next to them, in results achieved, comes St. Malachy's (Catholic) College, Belfast, and Mungret (Catholic) College, near Limerick. We have not combined the results of these two in the sixth place in each of the following tables, but we have taken the

results obtained sometimes by one, sometimes by another of these two colleges.

RESULTS OF 1885.

	Total number who passed Arts Exams. of R. University.		Number of Honours obtained.
Queen's College, Belfast . . .	130	...	71
" " Cork . . .	25	...	14
" " Galway . . .	26	...	10
University College, Stephen's Green .	63	...	47
" " Blackrock . . .	29	...	32
Mungret College, Limerick . . .	21	...	7

RESULTS OF 1886.

Queen's College, Belfast . . .	106	...	67
" " Cork . . .	22	...	14
" " Galway . . .	25	...	5
University College, Stephen's Green .	51	...	31
" " Blackrock . . .	30	...	31
St. Malachy's, Belfast . . .	24	...	15

RESULTS OF 1887.

Queen's College, Belfast . . .	116	...	73
" " Cork . . .	31	...	15
" " Galway . . .	25	...	9
University College, Stephen's Green .	56	...	24
" " Blackrock . . .	18	...	18
Mungret College, Limerick . . .	24	...	8

RESULTS OF 1888.

Queen's College, Belfast . . .	109	...	64
" " Cork . . .	34	...	13
" " Galway . . .	28	...	9
University College, Stephen's Green .	44	...	20
" " Blackrock . . .	12	...	20
Mungret College, Limerick . . .	19	...	16

SUMMARY TABLE FOR FOUR YEARS, 1885-88.

Queen's College, Belfast . . .	461	...	275
Queen's Colleges, Cork and Galway .	216	...	89
Two Catholic Colleges—Stephen's Green and Blackrock . . .	313	...	223

These figures speak for themselves. The Queen's College at Belfast seems to be working satisfactorily, sending an average of 115 students through the Arts examinations of the Royal Uni-

versity each year. The two Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, taken together, do not accomplish even half this work, their annual grand totals in Arts being an average of 54 students. The two Catholic Colleges of Stephen's Green and Blackrock send an annual average of 78 students through the Arts examinations of the Royal University, or nearly 45 per cent. more than Cork and Galway combined.

But there is a consideration far more important than that of numbers—viz., *quality*. If, then, we come to the *quality* of the work performed in these institutions, the contrast is still more noteworthy. In Belfast the number of honours obtained in the university Arts examinations is about 60 per cent. of the passes. In the two colleges of Cork and Galway, taken together, the honours are only 41 per cent. of the passes. In the two Catholic Colleges they are 71 per cent. of the passes.

So much for quantity and quality, and now for cost and favour shown by the Government. The amount of money, which the two colleges of Cork and Galway have cost the Imperial exchequer during the four years, 1885-88, is little less than £80,000. Where is the justice of spending this large sum on those institutions, while aid is refused to the two Catholic Colleges which have turned out within the same period half again as much work, and this work of nearly 60 per cent. better quality? Let us not be misunderstood. We do not purpose to criticize in the slightest degree the work accomplished by the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway. We only desire to point out plainly that the State pays for work in these two institutions a very large sum of money, while it positively refuses to contribute a penny towards the expense of producing a larger quantity of similar work done in two Catholic colleges, solely because they are Catholic. This is a course of conduct which is being pursued to this day by Englishmen who are protesting that the Irish are so unreasonable, that they have nothing to complain of but the seasons, the land, and their own captious temper. But will any one stand up in Parliament and attempt to justify this conduct? It is now sixty years since the Emancipation Act was passed. Is it not a mockery to tell the Irish Catholics that no disability any longer attaches to the profession of their creed, while the State spends £20,000 a year on two colleges which Catholics cannot enter without paltering with their conscience, and refuses to contribute a farthing towards the support of those colleges which the Catholic subjects of the Queen in Ireland *can* enter, and which do a larger quantity of better work?

Before we quit this branch of the subject, we wish to call attention to three things. First, in this summary, we have cited only two Catholic Colleges. But besides these there are several

others which send up students to the examinations of the Royal University, as we learn from the calendars of the University. We have not gone through the lists of the students from those colleges; but the total of them is probably little short of the whole number of students who came up from the Queen's Colleges. In the second place we wish to observe that the educational work performed in these colleges is exactly of the same kind as is performed in the Queen's Colleges—that is, the work of an ordinary liberal education. The courses of instruction, the subjects to be taught, the books to be read, are all prescribed by the Senate of the University. The only difference is, that the Professors in the institutions of the Protestant minority, are paid by the State for their services, the teachers in the institutions of the Catholic majority of the nation receive nothing; while, in addition, the State provides all kinds of helps for the studious youth in the former institutions, and provides nothing for those in the latter. And, then, adding insult to injury, when the day of examination comes, it tells the unfriended ones with an almost brutal cynicism, that they are entering on a competition in which there is a fair field and equal terms for all. Finally, we have taken a fair test, and have limited ourselves to showing that during the four years a larger number of students presented themselves for the examinations of the Royal University from two Catholic Colleges than from two of the Queen's Colleges. The State has spent during those four years nearly £80,000 on those two Queen's Colleges, while it has refused to contribute anything to the maintenance of a single Catholic College. This seems to us to be so indefensibly unjust, that neither explanations nor taunts can obscure the injustice. Is it possible that British fair-play cannot find a remedy, or will refuse to grant it? Our English blood burns with shame and indignation as we feel partners by nationality in the perpetration and perpetuation of this injustice towards the weaker race. And we ask with sorrow, Is it surprising that many should desire to sever all connection with England when they can point to such unequal legislation and government as this?

The present Government has undertaken grave responsibilities in regard to Ireland. It possesses power, and it has not shown itself lacking in a will and determination to use it. It has forced measures through Parliament in the teeth of the most dogged opposition by the Irish Nationalists and by the English Radicals. It declares that its one desire is to restore peace, order, and the enjoyment of individual liberty to Ireland. It boasts that its measures have been attended with success, and it professes to have larger remedial measures in store, to be introduced in apparently some undefined future. If you question their politicians, they

will tell you that Ireland must wait awhile—and become, we suppose, calm as a lake; that English and Scotch legislation must be proceeded with, and that all Irish measures brought forward by the Government would infallibly meet with the factious opposition of the Parnellite-Gladstonian Home Rulers, and that this would lead to an infinite waste of time. They will tell you, moreover, that the Irish will not be conciliated and that they are never grateful.

To take the last objection first. No one can expect the Irish or any other party of politicians to be bought off from their demand for a measure which, rightly or wrongly, they consider to be the chief and vital need of their country, by the concession to them of some other measure, however good in itself, but which they either deem to be of a less value, or which they believe they could pass for themselves, if they once secured the grand position for which they contend.—Neither is much gratitude to be looked for in politics. All great English, Scotch, and Irish measures are alike in this, that they have to be severely fought for. They have to contend with opposition for years, and victory is not to be won until they have converted their opponents by reason or policy, or triumphed over them by successful majorities. The people want measures—free trade, cheap bread, electoral reform, religious education, self-government—and men who have promoted one measure are thrown over and beaten if they oppose the next measure required by the nation. Wherever the belief prevails that measures take precedence of men—there will often be among defeated politicians the sense and the cry of ingratitude. We take it, therefore, to be mere cant to say much about political gratitude. England, Ireland and Scotland, all fare alike in Parliament in this respect, that each has to persuade, convert, or vanquish opposition, and to get one measure through after another as best they can. Country before party. We will only add that in the case of Ireland, the amount of prejudice, ignorance, and bigotry which her representatives have to contend with in Great Britain makes remedial and beneficial legislation for Ireland much more difficult of attainment than it ever has been for the sister island. Let us dismiss the demand for gratitude; be just and fear not.

Next, as to the Irish and Gladstonian opposition, which some profess to apprehend were the Government to bring in a short Bill to redress the inequality in the measures for Higher Education in Ireland. We have the strongest reasons for believing that this apprehension is without foundation; that it is the result of ignorance of Ireland, and of fears created by the action of Irish politicians in matters affecting *other* interests than these of Catholic education.

There may be, and no doubt there are, in the Opposition men who look upon religion as a mere fetish, who disbelieve in revelation and the existence of God—politicians, the first article of whose programme is to worry the Government—and who would not hesitate to throw over the cause of education, religion, and morality, if by so doing they harassed the Ministry. But whatever may be said of some of their English allies, we cannot believe that men of this stamp compose the Irish Nationalist party. If the Government believe that it is otherwise, they could take no more judicious step than that of forcing such hypocrites to declare themselves in their true colours. The process would be simple and easy—viz., to introduce a short Bill dealing fairly, according to the desire of the Irish people, with the question of Higher Education for Irish Catholics. We venture to say that such a measure would be received and supported by the Irish Nationalist party, probably without exception, and that it would meet with no factious opposition, unless it were from the handful of blind bigots, whose orange colour still lights up the Tory tail, or from the Radical galaxy of unbelievers who treat Christianity as a worn out superstition.

We go further, and say that there are many in England who are only half-hearted supporters of the Government, because they doubt its animus and fair-mindedness towards the Catholic population of Ireland. They say there is no reason why, because we are unwilling to grant to Ireland a larger measure of autonomy than is enjoyed in England and Scotland, we should refuse to concede to Ireland an educational measure, which Liberal and Tory leaders have both declared to be just and equitable. We have had the Crimes Act enforced, and we are told that order and peace have returned: give then to Ireland, as speedily as possible, whatever is just. The longer we needlessly delay, the greater and more justified will be the accumulation of Irish discontent. The Government may know its own interests best, but we have no hesitation in saying that its friends are not multiplied, and its enemies are not appeased, by neglect of the kind of which we are speaking.

But let the Government turn away from our unauthoritative arguments to the testimony of one whose courageous, independent, and straightforward character must command their respect. We quote from a report in the *Tablet* (Nov. 12, 1887) of a speech delivered by the Bishop of Limerick at a distribution of prizes. His lordship said:—

Going into a Catholic College like this, one cannot help feeling the galling inferiority of the position in which we, the vast bulk of the nation, are placed and kept; but I am free to avow to you that I

approach this subject without either heart or hope. It is a humiliating subject for an Irish bishop to discuss—it regards the one necessity in public life which it is our duty as pastors of our people to forward, and to which over every material interest we are bound to give precedence. It may sound strangely in these days, but yet it is my inmost conviction, that it is of more importance for the fortunes of Ireland, and I would even add for her temporal as well as for her spiritual interests, that adequate provision should be made for the religious education of her children than that the land laws should be reformed, or even self-government achieved. If, by the working of the influences that in godless institutions *are now undermining the faith of generation after generation of Irish youths*, you have produced a clever, educated, but irreligious class in this country, I say that national prosperity and national independence in their hands would be an unqualified calamity. Better the old noble struggle for truth and justice of the penal times than liberty in the hands of men who could not or would not use it for the ends for which all power is given to men on earth. . . .

I confess to you, feeling deeply as I do the supreme importance of this education question, I have never seen its prospects gloomier or less hopeful [these words were spoken in November 1887] and all the while there has never been in Irish public life a question on the fundamental principle of which there has been a greater approach to unanimity in all sections of our countrymen. Catholic and Protestant alike are denominationalist. If you took a vote throughout Ireland to-morrow on the simple issue of religious as against secular education, you would find the whole nation practically on our side. On this we have no north and south, no Protestant and Catholic.

Why then will not the law conform to the wishes of the people? The Government that is now in power professes to be willing to pass for Ireland and England Acts on denominational principles. Where, then, is the difficulty? Why is year after year allowed to pass with nothing done, and our hopes, that twenty years ago were strong and substantial, fading into mist? All the agencies that can influence the solution are in theory at least favourable to our views—the Irish bishops, the Parliamentary party, the Government. Nor is there now any section of political life that would offer any strong opposition to a generous measure of reform. Why, then, not treat it as a non-contentious, as an unpolitical question? I am as sure as I am of my existence that at a conference there could be drafted in a few hours a scheme of educational reform that would satisfy all the legitimate claims of Catholics in Ireland, and remove one of the last traces of religious disability, for this still attaches to us. While the time is passing irreparable harm is being done to the religious interests of thousands of Catholic students; sectarianism is being consolidated; the Queen's Colleges are receiving new life from the inflow of Catholic students, for whom no suitable provision is made in their university course. If the grounds of our agitation are sound, that the secular education given in these colleges is ruinous to the spirit of faith, then

I fear we must look forward with anxiety to the time when the country will gather the harvest which is now being sown.

Two years ago the Archbishop of Dublin, in his Lenten Pastoral, published Resolutions of the Irish Bishops dealing with the settlement of the matter of Higher Education. These Resolutions laid down three alternatives :—Either (1) a separate Catholic University, properly equipped and endowed; or (2) a National University, embracing all the institutions for Higher Education in Ireland, in which endowed Catholic Colleges should have a place; or (3) a Catholic endowed College within the University of Dublin. The Archbishop spoke in this Pastoral in the tone and manner of one who knew that what he said would have the concurrence of his fellow-prelates. It was quite plain to an intelligent reader that he fully recognized the difficulty of obtaining a separate Catholic University, and that the alternative of a Catholic College, properly endowed and equipped, would be gratefully accepted. He reminded his readers that so far back as the year 1824 the Irish Catholic Bishops presented a petition to Parliament on this matter of education. And, summing up the demands of the Bishops, he stated that, on the simple ground of religious equality, all degrees, endowments, and other privileges enjoyed by Protestants should be placed within the reach of Catholics *on terms of perfect equality*. Here is the sum and substance of what is asked—that Catholics shall, in this matter of education, be placed, as Catholics, on a perfect equality with Irish Protestants. This involves that an education shall be provided for them, conducted on thoroughly Catholic principles, and sufficiently endowed by the State to place them, in all educational advantages, on a perfect level with their Protestant fellow-countrymen.

We believe that we are not misinterpreting the wishes of the Catholic many in Ireland when we say that they do not desire that this shall be done to the detriment in the slightest degree of their Protestant fellow-countrymen. They ask that all shall be on a footing of perfect equality. Protestants in Ireland have educational institutions provided for them by the State, the advantages of which they can use to the fullest without any compromise of their religious principles. The Irish Catholics do not ask that these privileges shall be diminished by an iota. But they ask that they shall themselves be put in a position of perfect equality. They have asked this steadily for many years. They have asked it specifically for over twenty years. Mr. Gladstone, in 1873, and the late Lord Iddesleigh, in 1877, admitted that there was no ground for combating this particular demand of the Irish Catholics.

The measure contemplated would be directed to the removal of

a definite grievance, affecting the education of Irish Catholic youth. The remedy is obviously the establishment of a College, or Colleges, in which they could receive Higher Education without any compromise of their religious principles. Such a College, or Colleges, should be the creation of the Crown, by Royal Charter, like all similar institutions in modern times. The only question on which Parliament need express an opinion would be the advisability of establishing such a College; and on this, with all the public declarations of statesmen of both parties before our eyes, we do not see where there is room or opportunity for debate. It would be preposterous, indeed, to ask such an assembly as the House of Commons to discuss in detail all the items of the constitution of such a College. The utmost the Legislature, with the multifarious demands upon its time, could undertake to consider is whether it is well to empower the Crown to establish proper facilities for the Higher Education of Irish Catholics; provision for their maintenance to be made, of course, as in the case of the Queen's Colleges, by the public exchequer. Once it is agreed that such a College should be established, everything else follows, according to all precedent.

There is an excellent precedent which may well serve as a guide in this matter. The whole Irish University system was metamorphosed by the University Education (Ireland) Act, passed by Lord Beaconsfield's Government in 1879. It is a measure worth studying for its compactness, for the clearness with which it prescribes the object to be attained and the course to be followed, and for the freedom allowed as to details. This Act had to deal with the Queen's University, which was to be extinguished, and with the interests connected with that University, which had to be safeguarded. No complications of this kind would affect the measure to which we have referred. Using the powers conferred on the Crown by this Act, her Majesty created the Royal University of Ireland. But the charter limited itself to creating the organization, the Senate, which was to govern the University and was to legislate for it, and charged this Senate with the duty of drawing up a complete scheme for the working of the Institution. This scheme was submitted to Parliament; and, after an interval, the Senate proceeded to draw up statutes, which, when approved by the Crown, became the administrative code of the University. Why should not this precedent be followed, *mutatis mutandis*, in setting up a College for the Higher Education of Catholics in Ireland? Government proceeded on the same principle of a simple Bill in dealing with English Universities. The creation of the Victorian University a few years ago was, so far as the Bill was concerned, a matter of

extreme simplicity. And there ought to be no difficulty in preparing, before the close of the present Session, a short Bill completing a measure of educational justice towards the majority of the population of Ireland. For many reasons, which our space will not allow us to go into, it would seem to be most highly expedient that this measure of justice should be carried out without the delay of another Session. As to the time of the Government and the House of Commons, and the number of measures they have still before them, let it be borne in mind that both Lord Beaconsfield's Intermediate Education Act of 1878 and his University Act of 1879 were both brought in and passed at the end of the Session, and they were passed with a minimum of discussion.

Still, there may be misgivings in the mind of the Ministry. The ghost of Mr. Gladstone's Irish University Bill, which was wrecked, and with it himself and his Government, by a single act of the Irish Bishops, backed by the Irish Members, and the ghosts of other measures, intended benevolently to Irish Catholics, but rejected by them, may arise in warning before the mind of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour. We may, therefore, be permitted to point out that these former measures were wrecked because the captain of the ship took no competent pilot on board to bring it into harbour. He thought that he knew, or that a friend of his on board, knew the shoals and the secret dangers, and, trusting to amateur knowledge and experience, all went on prosperously enough until within sight of port he foundered upon one hidden rock, which was known familiarly only to professional pilots. Had the Archbishop of Dublin, at the time being, been consulted, this misfortune would not have occurred.

Again, it has not unfrequently happened in the past that a benevolent English Government has felt that it was triumphing over the prejudices of Protestantism and crushing its heel into the neck of Orangism, because it ventured so far as to offer "something good," but much less than full justice, to the Catholic population of Ireland. Now, people who have a right to a full loaf are not satisfied when only half the loaf is tendered. And when the Catholic majority of Ireland sees that the Protestant minority is endowed, not with one whole loaf only, but with many goodly loaves and fishes, and then that an enormous virtue and merit is made of tendering to the Catholic majority of the nation a single half loaf—somehow or other human nature gets the better of the proverb, which is not, however, found among Solomon's collection, and declares, with indignation, "I'll have the whole of what is my due, or none. Why should I, because I am a Catholic, be satisfied to receive 10s. in the pound, when to my Protestant fellow-countrymen are paid 20s.?" For ourselves,

we cannot dishonour a people that acts thus. It is a sign of noble independence and of a keen sense of justice.

Once more, if the Government intends to give to the Catholics of Ireland a system of Catholic higher education, such as they demand, it must be very careful that it actually does what it intends to do. "*Bonum ex integra causa, malum ex quocunque defectu*" is a principle in ethics, which cannot be disregarded in founding a system of education. Or, slightly to vary our metaphor, the loaf may be a whole loaf, and may be made of the best of flour, but if an element of poison be cast into it, either purposely or by mistake, it will be thrown away with scorn and anger by the hungry man to whom it is offered.

Now we believe that the Government honestly desires to complete the work of education for Catholics in Ireland, the work which it began when it passed the Intermediate Education Bill, and the Royal (Ireland) University Bill. It can only succeed by granting a full measure of justice; in other words, by placing Catholics on a perfect line of equality with Protestants. It will therefore fail if it endows Protestant Colleges with a magnificent, and Catholic Colleges with a niggard, hand; if it professes to grant to the Catholic majority a Higher Education which shall be denominational, and then insinuates a principle into its constitution, management, or course of instruction which is tainted by an anti-Catholic virus, or by conditions which the Holy See could never sanction or accept. Indeed, no one could desire success except for even-handed justice and equitable considerations. If these are present, Government may count securely upon approval and acceptance by the Head of the Catholic Church. Catholics ask for nothing outrageous, nothing in the shape of Church endowment, nothing which shall make the management purely clerical, nothing inconsistent with the authority of the Crown. We hold no brief for any one, neither for the Irish hierarchy nor for the Irish Parliamentary party; but we venture to assert that both the one and the other would accept with thankfulness—though neither might be prepared to make preliminary overtures—a fair provision for the Higher Education of Catholics in Ireland. The authority of the Crown would be frankly recognized and strengthened, and the strongest Irish opponents of the Government, though not disarmed perhaps as political foes, would still admit that, at least in a non-political matter, the Ministry had rendered full justice to Ireland.

EDITORIAL.

LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. ON THE CONCLUSION OF
HIS JUBILEE YEAR.

Venerabilibus Fratribus, Patriarchis, Primatibus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis et dilectis Filiis Christifidelibus universis pacem et communionem cum Apostolica Sede habentibus.

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES DILECTI FILII SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM
BENEDICTIONEM.

EXEUNTE iam anno, cum natalem sacerdotii quinquagesimum, singulari munere beneficioque divino, incolumes egimus, sponte respicit mens Nostra spatium praeteritorum mensium, plurimumque totius huius intervalli recordatione delectatur.—Nec sane sine caussa: eventus enim, qui ad Nos privatim attinebat, idemque nec per se magnus, nec novitate mirabilis, studia tamen hominum inusitato modo commovit, tam perspicuis laetitiae signis, tot gratulationibus celebratus, ut nihil optari maius potuisset.—Quae res certe pergrata Nobis perque iucunda cecidit: sed quod in ea plurimi aestimamus, significatio voluntatum est, religionisque liberrime testata constantia. Ille enim Nos undique salutantium concentus id aperte loquebatur, ex omnibus locis mentes atque animos in Iesu Christi Vicarium esse intentos: tot passim prementibus malis, in Apostolicam Sedem, velut in salutis perennem incorruptumque fontem, fidenter homines intueri: et quibuscumque in oris catholicum viget nomen, Ecclesiam romanam, omnium Ecclesiarum matrem et magistram, coli observarique, ita ut aequum est, ardenti studio ac summa concordia.—His de causis per superiores menses non semel in caelum suspeximus, Deo optimo atque immortalis gratias acturi, quod et hanc Nobis vivendi usuram, et ea, quae commemorata sunt, curarum solatia benignissime tribuisset: per idemque tempus, cum sese occasio dedit, gratam voluntatem Nostram, in quos oportebat, declaravimus. Nunc vero extrema anni ac celebratis renovare admonent accepti beneficii memoriam: atque illud peroptato contingit, ut Nobiscum in iterandis Deo gratis Ecclesia tota consentiat. Simul vero expetit animus per has litteras publice testari, id quod facimus, quemadmodum tot obsequii, humanitatis, et amoris testimonia ad leniendas curas molestiasque Nostras consolatione non mediocri valuerunt, ita eorum et memoriam in Nobis et gratiam semper esse victuram.—Sed maius ac sanctius restat officium. In hac enim affectione animorum, romanum Pontificem alacritate insueta colere atque honorare gestientium, numen videmur nutumque Eius agnoscere, qui saepe solet atque unus potest magnorum principia bonorum ex minimis momentis elicere. Nimirum providentissimus Deus voluisse videtur, in tanto opinionum errore, excitare fidem, opportunitatemque praebere studiis vitae potioris in populo christiano revocandis.—Quamobrem hoc est reliqui, dare operam ut, bene positus

initiiis, bene cetera consequantur: enitendumque, ut et intelligantur consilia divina, et re ipsa perficiantur. Tunc denique obsequium in Apostolicam Sedem plene erit cumulateque perfectum, si cum virtutum christianarum laude coniunctum ad salutem conducat animorum: qui fructus est unice expetendus perpetuoque mansurus.

Ex hoc summo apostolici muneris gradu, in quo Nos Dei benignitas locavit, patrociniū veritatis saepenumero, ut oportuit, suscepimus, conatque sumus ea potissimum doctrinae capita exponere, quae maxime opportuna eque re publica viderentur esse, ut quisque, veritate perspecta, pestiferos errorum afflatus, vigilando cavendoque, defugeret. Nunc vero, uti liberos suos amantissimus parens, sic Nos alloqui christianos universos volumus, familiarique sermone hortari singulos ad vitam sancte instituendam. Nam omnino ad christianum nomen, praeter fidei professionem, necessariae sunt christianarum artes exercitationesque virtutum; ex quibus non modo pendet sempiterna salus animorum, sed etiam germana prosperitas et firma tranquillitas convictus humani et societatis.—Iamvero si quaeritur qua passim ratione vita degatur, nemo est quin videat, valde ab evangelicis praeceptis publicos mores privatosque discrepare. Nimis apte cadere in hanc aetatem videtur illa Ioannis Apostoli sententia, *omne, quod in mundo est, concupiscentia carnis est, et concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia vitae*.^{*} Videlicet plerique, unde orti, quo vocentur, obliti, curas habent cogitationesque omnes in haec imbecilla et fluxa bona defixas: invita natura, perturbatoque ordine, iis rebus sua voluntate serviunt, in quas dominari hominem ratio ipsa clamat oportere.—Appetentiae commodorum et deliciarum comitari proclive est cupiditatem rerum ad illa adipiscenda idonearum. Hinc effrenata pecuniae aviditas, quae efficit caecos quos complexa est, et ad explendum quod exoptat inflammata rapitur, nullo saepe aequi iniqui discrimine, nec raro cum alienae inopiae insolenti fastidio. Ita plurimi, quorum circumfluit vita divitiis, fraternitatis nomen cum multitudine usurpant, quam intimis sensibus superbe contemnunt. Similique modo elatus superbia animus non legi subesse ulli, nec ullam vereri potestatem conatur: merum amorem sui libertatem appellat. *Tamquam pullum onagri se liberum natum putat*.[†]—Accedunt vitiorum illecebrae ac perniciose invitamenta peccandi: ludos scenicos intelligimus impie ac licenter apparatus: volumina atque ephemeridas ludificandae virtuti, honestandae turpitudini composita; artes ipsas, ad usum vitae honestamque oblectationem animi inventas, lenocinia cupiditatum ministrare iussas. Nec licet sine metu futura prospicere, quia nova malorum semina continenter velut in sinum congeruntur adolescentis aetatis. Nostis morem scholarum publicarum: nihil in eis relinquitur ecclesiasticae auctoritati loci: et quo tempore maxime oporteret tenerimos animos ad officia christiana sedulo studiosèque fingere, tum religionis praecepta plerumque silent. Grandiores natu periculum adeunt etiam maius, scilicet a vitio doctrinae: quae saepe est eiusmodi, ut non ad imbuendam cognitione veri, sed potius ad infatu-

* 1 Ep. ii. 16.

† Iob. xi. 12.

andam valeat fallacia sententiarum iuventutem. In disciplinis enim tradendis permulti philosophari malunt solo rationis magisterio, omnino fide divina posthabita: quo firmamento maximo uberrimoque lumine remoto, in multis labuntur, nec vera cernunt. Eorum illa sunt, omnia, quae in hoc mundo sint, esse corporea: hominum et pecudum easdem esse origines similemque naturam: nec desunt qui de ipso summo dominatore rerum, ac mundi opifice Deo dubitent, sit necne sit, vel in eius natura errent, ethnicorum more, deterreme. Hinc demutari necesse est ipsam speciem formamque virtutis, iuris, officii. Ita quidem, ut dum rationis principatum gloriose praedicant, ingeniiue subtilitatem magnificentius efferunt, quam par est, debitas superbiae poenas rerum maximarum ignoracione luant.—Corrupto opinionibus animo, simul insidet tamquam in venis medullisque corruptela morum; eaque sanari in hoc genere hominum sine summa difficultate non potest, propterea quod ex una parte opinionibus vitiosae adulterant iudicium honestatis, ex altera lumen abest fidei christianae, quae omnis est principium ac fundamentum iustitiae.

Ex eiusmodi caussis quantas hominum societas calamitates contraxerit, quotidie oculis quodammodo contemplamur. Venena doctrinarum proclivi cursu in rationem vitae resque publicas pervasere: *rationalismus, materialismus, atheismus* peperere *socialismum, communismum, nihilismum*: tetras quidem funestasque pestes, sed quas ex iis principiis ingenerari non modo consentaneum erat, sed prope necessarium.—Sane, si religio catholica impune reiicitur, cuius origo divina tam illustribus est perspicua signis, quidni quaelibet religionis forma reiiciatur, quibus tales assentiendi notas abesse liquet? Si animus non est a corpore natura distinctus, proptereaue si, intereunte corpore, spes aevi beati aeternique nulla superest, quid erit caussae quamobrem labores molestiaeque in eo suscipiantur, ut appetitus obedientes fiant rationi? Summum hominis erit positum bonum in fruendis vitae commodis potiundisque voluptatibus. Cumque nemo unus sit, quin ad beate vivendum ipsius naturae admonitu impulsuque feratur, iure quisque detraxerit quod cuique possit, ut aliorum spoliis facultatem quaerat beate vivendi. Nec potestas ulla frenos est habitura tantos, ut satis cohibere incitatas cupiditates queat; consequens enim est, ut vis frangatur legum et omnis debilitetur auctoritas, si summa atque aeterna ratio iubentis vetantis Dei repudietur. Ita perturbari funditus necesse est civilem hominum societatem, inexplabili cupiditate ad perenne certamen impellente singulos, contendentibus aliis quaesita tueri, aliis concupita adipisci.

Huc ferme nostra inclinat aetas.—Est tamen, quo consolari conspectum praesentium malorum, animosque erigere spe meliore possumus. Deus enim creavit ut essent omnia, et sanabiles fecit nationes orbis terrarum.* Sed sicut omnis hic mundus non aliter conservari nisi numine providentiaeque eius potest, cuius est nutu conditus, ita pariter sanari homines sola eius virtute queunt, cuius beneficio sunt ad interitu ad vitam revocati. Nam humanum genus semel quidem Iesus

* Sap. i. 14.

Christus profuso sanguine redemit, sed perennis ac perpetua est virtus tanti operis tantique muneris: *et non est in alio aliquo salus.** Quare qui cupiditatum popularium crescentem flammam nituntur oppositu legum extinguere, ii quidem pro iustitia contendunt: sed intelligant, nullo se fructu aut certe perexiguo laborem consumpturos, quamdiu obstinaverint animo respuere virtutem Evangelii, Ecclesiaeque nolle advocatam operam. In hoc posita malorum sanatio est, ut, mutatis consiliis, et privatim et publice remigretur ad Iesum Christum, christianamque vivendi viam.

Iamvero totius vitae christianae summa et caput est, non indulgere corruptis saeculi moribus, sed repugnare ac resistere constanter oportere. Id auctoris fidei et consummatoris Iesu omnia dicta et facta, leges et instituta, vita et mors declarant. Igitur quantumvis pravitate naturae et morum longe trahamur alio, curramus oportet *ad propositum nobis certamen* armati et parati eodem animo eisdemque armis, quibus Ille, qui *proposito sibi gaudio sustinuit crucem.†* Proptereaque hoc primum videant homines atque intelligant quam sit a professione christiani nominis alienum persequi, uti mos est, cuiusquemodi voluptates, horrere comites virtutis labores, nihilque recusare sibi, quod sensibus suaviter delicateque blandiatur. *Qui sunt Christi, carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis:‡* ita ut consequens sit, Christi non esse, in quibus non exercitatio sit consuetudoque patiendi cum aspernatione mollium et delicatarum voluptatum. Revixit enim homo infinita Dei bonitate in spem bonorum immortalium, unde exciderat, sed ea consequi non potest, nisi ipsis Christi vestigiis ingredi conetur, et cogitatione exemplorum eius mentem suam morisque conformet. Itaque non consilium, sed officium, neque eorum dumtaxat, qui perfectius vitae optaverint genus, sed plane omnium est, *mortificationem Iesu in corpore quemque suo circumferre.*§—Ipsa naturae lex, quae iubet hominem cum virtute vivere, qui secus posset salva consistere? Deletur enim sacro baptisate peccatum, quod est nascendo contractum, sed stirpes distortae ac pravae, quas peccatum insevit, nequaquam tolluntur. Pars hominis ea, quae expers rationis est, etsi resistentibus viriliterque per Iesu Christi gratiam repugnantibus nocere non possit, tamen cum ratione de imperio pugnat, omnem animi statum perturbat, voluntatemque tyrannice a virtute detorquet tanta vi, ut nec vitia fugere nec officia servare sine quotidiana dimicatione possimus. *Manere autem in baptizatis concupiscentiam vel fomittem, haec sancta synodus futeur ac sentit, quae cum ad agonem relicta sit, nocere non consentientibus, sed viriliter per Iesu Christi gratiam repugnantibus non valet; quinimo qui legitime certaverit coronabitur.*||—Est in hoc certamine gradus fortitudinis, quo virtus non perveniat nisi excellens, eorum videlicet, qui in profligandis motibus a ratione aversis eo usque profecerunt, ut caelestem in terris vitam agere propemodum videantur. Esto, paucorum sit tanta praestantia: sed, quod ipsa philosophia veterum praecipiebat, domitas habere cupiditates nemo

* Act. iv. 12.

† Heb. xii. 1, 2.

‡ Galat. v. 24.

§ 2 Cor. iv. 10.

|| Conc. Trid. Sess. v. can. 5.

non debet: idque ii maiore etiam studio, quibus rerum mortalium quotidianus usus irritamenta maiora suppeditat: nisi qui stulte putet, minus esse vigilandum ubi praesentius imminet discrimen, aut, qui gravius aegrotant, eos minus egere medicina.—Is vero, qui in eiusmodi conflictu suscipitur, labor magnis compensatur, praeter caelestia atque immortalia, bonis: in primis quod isto modo, sedata perturbatione partium, plurimum restituitur naturae de dignitate pristina. Hac enim lege est atque hoc ordine generatus homo, ut animus imperaret corpori, appetitus mente consilioque regerentur: eoque fit, ut non dedere se pessimis dominis cupiditatibus, praestantissima sit maximeque optanda libertas.—Praeterea in ipsa humani generis societate non apparet quid expectari ab homine sine hac animi affectione possit. Utrumne futurus est ad bene merendum propensus, qui facienda, fugienda, metiri amore sui consueverit? Non magnanimus quisquam esse potest, non beneficus, non misericors, non abstinens, qui non se ipse vincere didicerit, atque humana omnia prae virtute contemnere.—Nec silebimus, id omnino videri divino provisum consilio, ut nulla afferri salus hominibus, nisi cum contentione et dolore queat. Revera si Deus liberationem culpae et errati veniam hominum generi dedit, hac lege dedit, ut Unigenitus suus poenas sibi debitas iustasque persolveret. Iustitiaeque divinae cum Iesus Christus satisfacere alia atque alia ratione potuisset, maluit tamen per summos cruciatus profusâ vitâ satisfacere. Atque ita alumnis ac sectatoribus suis hanc legem imposuit suo cruore sancitam, ut eorum esset vita cum morum ac temporum vitiis perpetua certatio. Quid Apostolos ad imbuendum veritate mundum fecit invictos, quid martyres innumerabiles in fidei christianae cruento testimonio roboravit, nisi affectio animi illi legi obtemperans sine timore? Nec aliâ viâ ire perrexerunt, quotquot curae fuit vivere more christiano, sibi que virtute consulere: neque igitur aliâ nobis eundum, si consultum saluti volumus vel nostrae singulorum, vel communi. Itaque, dominante procacitate libidinum, tueri se quemque viriliter necesse est a blandimentis luxuriae: cumque passim sit in fruendis opibus et copiis tam insolens ostentatio, muniendus animus est contra divitiarum sumptuosas illecebras, ne his inhians animus, quae appellantur bona, quae nec satiare eum possunt, ac brevi sunt dilapsura, thesaurum amittat non deficientem in caelis. Denique illud etiam dolendum, quod opiniones atque exempla perniciose tanto opere ad molliendos animus valuerunt, ut plurimos iam prope pudeat nominis vitaeque christianae: quod quidem aut perditae nequitiae est, aut segnitiae inertissimae. Utrumque detestabile, utrumque tale, ut nullum homini malum maius. Quenam enim reliqua salus esset, aut qua spe niterentur homines, si gloriari in nomine Iesu Christi desierint, si vitam ex praeceptis evangelicis constanter aperteque agere recusarint? Vulgo queruntur viris fortibus sterile saeculum. Revocentur christiani mores: simul erit gravitas et constantia ingeniis restituta.

Sed tantorum magnitudini varietatique officiorum virtus hominum par esse sola non potest. Quo modo corpori, ut alatur, panem quotidianum, sic animae, ut ad virtutem confirmetur, nervos atque robur

impetrare divinitus necesse est. Quare communis illa conditio lexque vitae, quam in perpetua quadam diximus dimicatione consistere, obsecrandi Deum habet adiunctam necessitatem. Etenim, quod esse vere ab Augustino venusteque dictum, transcendit pia precatio intervalla mundi, divinamque devocat e caelo misericordiam. Contra cupiditatum turbidos motus, contra malorum daemonum insidias, ne circumventi in fraudem inducamur, adiumenta petere atque auxilia caelestia iubemur oraculo divino, *orate ut non intretis in tentationem*.^{*} Quanto id necessarium magis, si utilem dare operam alienae quoque saluti volumus? Christus Dominus, unigenitus Filius Dei, fons omnis gratiae et virtutis, quod verbis praecepit, ipse prior demonstravit exemplo: *erat pernoctans in oratione Dei*: † sacrificioque proximus *prolixius orabat*. ‡—Profecto longe minus esset naturae extimescenda fragilitas, nec languore mores desidiaque diffuerent, si divinum istud praeceptum minus iaceret incuria ac prope fastidio intermissum. Est enim exorabilis Deus, gratificari vult hominibus, aperte pollicitus, sua se munera large copioseque petentibus daturum. Quin etiam invitat ipsemet petere, ac fere lacessit amantissimis verbis: *ego dico vobis, petite et dabitur vobis, quaerite et invenietis, pulsate et aperietur vobis*. § Quod ut confidenter ac familiariter facere ne vereamur, maiestatem numinis sui similitudine atque imagine temperat parentis suavissimi cui nihil potius, quam caritas liberorum. *Si ergo vos, cum sitis mali, nobis bona data dare filiis vestris, quanto magis Pater vester qui in caelis est, dabit bona petentibus se* ||—Quae qui cogitaverit, non nimium mirabitur si efficientia precum humanarum Ioanni quidem Chrysostomo videatur tanta, ut cum ipsa potentia Dei comparari illam putet posse. Propterea quod sicut Deus universitatem rerum verbo creavit, sic homo impetrat, orando, quae velit. Nihil est rite adhibitis precibus impetrabilius, quia insunt in eis quaedam velut moventia, quibus placari se Deus atque exorari facile patiatur. Nam inter orandum sevocamus ab rebus mortalibus animum, atque unius Dei cogitatione suspensi, conscientia tenemur infirmitatis humanae: ob eamque rem in bonitate et amplexu parentis nostri acquiescimus, in virtute conditoris perfugium quaerimus. Adire insistimus auctorem omnium bonorum, tamquam spectari ab eo velimus aegrum animum, imbecillas vires, inopiam nostram: plenique spe, tutelam atque opem eius imploramus, qui aegrotationum medicinam, infirmitatis miseriaeque solatia praebere solus potest. Tali habitu animi modeste de se, ut oportet, submissequae iudicantis, mire flectitur Deus ad clementiam, quia quemadmodum superbis resistit, ita humilibus dat gratiam. ¶—Sancta igitur sit apud omnes consuetudo precandi: mens, animus, vox precentur: unaque simul ratio vivendi consentiat, ut videlicet per legum divinarum custodiam perennis ad Deum ascensus vita nostra videatur.

Quemadmodum virtutes ceterae, ita haec etiam, de qua loquimur, gignitur et sustentatur fide divina. Deus enim auctor est, quae sint

* Matt. xxvi. 41.

§ Luc. xi. 9.

† Luc. vi. 12.

|| Matt. vii. 11.

‡ Luc. xxii. 43.

¶ 1 Pet. v. 5.

homini vera atque unice per se expetenda bona: itemque infinitam Dei bonitatem, et Iesu redemptoris merita eodem auctore cognovimus. Sed vicissim pia precandi consuetudine nihil est ad alendam augendamque fidem aptius. Cuius quidem virtutis, in plerisque debilitatae, in multis extinctae, apparet quanta sit hoc tempore necessitas. Illa enim est maxime, unde non modo vitae privatorum petenda correctio est, sed etiam earum rerum iudicium expectandum, quarum conflictio quietas et securas esse civitates non sinit. Si aestuat multitudo immodicae libertatis siti, si erumpunt undique proletariorum minaces fremitus, si inhumana beatiorum cupiditas numquam se satis consecutam putat, et si quae sunt alia generis eiusdem incommoda, his profecto, quod alias uberius exposuimus, nihil subvenire melius aut certius, quam fides christiana, potest.

Locus admonet, ad vos cogitationem orationemque convertere, quotquot Deus ad sua dispensanda mysteria, collata divinitus potestate, adiutores adscivit. Si causae indagantur privatae publicaeque salutis, dubitandum non est, vitam moresque clericorum posse plurimum in utramque partem.—Meminerint, igitur, se *lucem mundi* a Iesu Christo appellatos, quod *luminis instar universum orbem illustrantis, sacerdotis animam splendescere oportet*.^{*} Lumen doctrinae, neque illud vulgare, in sacerdote requiritur, quia muneris eius est implere sapientia ceteros, evellere errores, ducem esse multitudini per itinera vitae ancipitia et lubrica. In primis autem vitae innocentiam comitem doctrina desiderat, praesertim quod in emendatione hominum longe plus exemplo, quam peroratione proficitur. *Lucent lux vestra coram hominibus, ut rideant opera vestra bona*.[†] Cuius divinae sententiae ea profecto vis est, talem esse in sacerdotibus perfectionem oportere absolutionemque virtutis, ut se tamquam speculum praebere intuentibus queant. *Nihil est, quod alios magis ad pietatem et Dei cultum assidue instruat, quam eorum rita et exemplum, qui se divino ministerio dedicant: cum enim a rebus saeculi in altiorem sublato locum conspiciantur, in eos tamquam in speculum reliqui oculos coniciunt, ex eisque sumunt, quod imitentur*.[‡] Quare si omnes homines caveant vigilanter oportet, ne ad vitiorum scopulos adhaerescant, neu consecrentur res caducas appetitione nimia, apparet quanto id efficere sacerdotes religiosius et constantius debeant.—Nisi quod nec satis est non servire cupiditatibus: illud etiam sanctitudo dignitatis postulat ut sibi metipsis acriter imperare assuescant, itemque omnes animi vires, praesertim intelligentiam ac voluntatem, quae summum in homine obtinent locum, in obsequium Christi cogere. *Qui relinquere universa disponis, te quoque inter relinquenda connumerare memento, imo maxime et principaliter abnega te metipsum*.[§] Soluti ac libero ab omni cupidine animo, tum denique alacre et generosum studium concipient salutis alienae, sine quo nec satis consulerent suae. *Unus erit de subditis quaestus, una pompa, unaque voluptas, si quomodo possent parare plebem perfectam. Id omnibus satagent etiam multa contritione cordis et cor-*

^{*} S. Io. Crysost. De Sac. l. 3, c. 1.

[†] Conc. Trid. Sess. xxii., c. i., de Ref.

[‡] Matt. v. 16.

[§] S. Bernard. Declam. c. i.

*poris, in labore et aerumna, in fame et siti, in frigore et nuditate.** Cuiusmodi virtutem semper experrectam et ad ardua quaelibet, proximorum gratiâ, impavidam mire fovet et corroborat bonorum caelestium contemplatio frequens. In qua sane quanto plus posuerint operae, tanto liquidius magnitudinem munerum sacerdotalium et excellentiam et sanctitatem intelligent. Iudicabunt illum quam sit miserum, tot homines per Iesum Christum redemptos, ruere tamen in interitum sempiternum: divinaeque cogitatione naturae in amorem Dei et intendunt sese vehementius et ceteros excitabunt.

Est eiusmodi cursus ad salutem communem certissimus. In quo tamen magnopere cavendum, ne qui magnitudine difficultatum terreatur, aut propter diuturnitatem malorum de sanatione desperet. Dei aequissima immutabilisque iustitia et recte factis praemia reservat et supplicia peccatis. Gentes vero et nationes, quoniam ultra mortalis aevi spatium propagari non possunt, debitam factis mercedem ferant in terris necesse est. Utique non est novum, successus prosperos peccanti civitati contingere: idque iusto Dei consilio, qui actiones laudabiles, neque enim est ulla gens omni laude vacans, eiusmodi beneficiorum genere interdum remuneratur: quod in populo romano iudicat Augustinus contigisse. Rata tamen lex est, ad prosperam fortunam omnino plurimum interesse quemadmodum publice virtus, ac nominatim ea, quae parens est ceterarum, iustitia colatur. *Iustitia elevat gentem: miseros autem facit populos peccatum.†*—Nihil attinet considerationem hoc loco intendere in victricia facinora: nec exquirere, ullane imperia, salvis rebus suis et ad voluntatem fluentibus, gerant tamen velut in imis visceribus inclusum semen miseriarum. Unam rem intelligi volumus, cuius rei plena est exemplorum historia, iniuste facta aliquando esse luenda, eoque gravius, quo fuerint diuturniora delicta. Nos quidem magnopere illa Pauli Apostoli sententia consolatur, *Omnia enim vestra sunt: vos autem Christi, Christus autem Dei.‡* Videlicet arcana divinae providentiae nutu sic rerum mortalium regitur gubernaturque cursus, ut, quaecumque hominibus accidunt, omnia Dei ipsius gloriae asserviant, itemque sint eorum salutis, qui Iesum Christum vere et ex animo sequuntur, conducibilia. Horum vero mater et altrix, dux et custos est Ecclesia: quae ideo cum Christo sponso suo sicut intima atque incommutabili caritate copulatur, ita coniungitur societate certaminum et communionem victoriae. Nihil igitur anxii Ecclesiae caussa sumus, nec esse possumus: sed valde pertimescimus de salute plurimorum, qui, Ecclesia superbe posthabita, errore vario in interitum aguntur: angimur earum causâ civitatum, quas spectare cogimur aversas a Deo, et summo rerum omnium discrimini stolidâ securitate indormientes. *Nihil Ecclesia par est Quot Ecclesiam oppugnaverunt, ipsique perierunt? Ecclesia vero caelo transcendit. Talis est Ecclesiae magnitudo: vincit impugnata, insidiis appetita superat luctatur nec prosternitur, pugilatu certat, nec vincitur. Neque solum non vincitur, sed illam, quam perenni hausta a Deo ipso*

* Ibid. Lib. iv., de Consid. c. 2.

† Prov. xiv. 34.

‡ 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23. § S. Io. Chrys. Or. post Eutrop. captum habita n. 1.

derivat, emendatricem naturae et efficientem salutis virtutem conservat integram, nec ulla temporum permutatione mutabilem. Quae virtus si senescentem vitis et perditum superstitione mundum divinitus liberavit, quidni devium revocabit? Conticescant aliquando suspiciones ac simultates: amotisque impedimentis, esto iurium suorum ubique compos Ecclesia, cuius est tueri ac propagare parta per Iesum Christum beneficia. Tunc enimvero licebit experiendo cognoscere, quo lux Evangelii pertineat, quid virtus Christi redemptoris possit.—Hic annus, qui est in exitu, non pauca, ut initio diximus, reviviscentis fidei indicia praetulit. Utinam istiusmodi velut scintilla crescat in vehementem flammam, quae, absumptis vitiorum radicibus, viam celeriter expediat ad renovandos mores et salutaria capessenda. Nos quidem mystico Ecclesiae navigio tam adversa tempestate praepositi, mentem animumque in divinum gubernatorem defigimus, qui clavum tenens sedet non visus in puppi. Vides, Domine, ut undique eruperint venti, ut mare inhorrescat, magna vi excitatis fluctibus. Impera, quaesumus, qui solus potes, et ventis et mari. Redde hominum generi pacem veri nominis, quam mundus dare non potest, tranquillitatem ordinis. Scilicet munere impulsuque tuo referant sese homines ad ordinem debitum, restituta, ut oportet, pietate in Deum, iustitia et caritate in proximos, temperantia in semetipsos, domitis ratione cupiditatibus. Adveniat regnum tuum, tibi que subesse ac servire ii quicque intelligant oportere, qui veritatem et salutem, te procul, vano labore exquirunt. Inest in legibus tuis aequitas ac lenitudo paterna: ad easque servandas ultro nobis ipse suppeditas expeditam virtute tua facultatem. Militia est vita hominis super terram, sed ipse *certamen inspectas, et adiuvas hominem ut vincat, et deficientem sublevas, et vincentem coronas.**

Atque his sensibus erecto in spem laetam firmamque animo, munerum caelestium auspicem et benevolentiae Nostrae testem, vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et Clero populoque catholico universo apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum ipso die natali D. N. Iesu, An. MDCCCLXXXVIII, Pontificatus Nostri Undecimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

* Cf. S. Aug. in Ps. 32.

Science Notices.

The Forth Bridge.—It is confidently expected that in October next the Firth of Forth will be bridged by what may be described as one of the mightiest of those engineering works which characterize this age of applied science. The Forth bridge is a bold stride in bridge construction. At present the span of the Britannia tubular bridge across the Menai Straits heads the list of long spans in this country; but the spans of the Forth bridge are no less than $3\frac{3}{4}$ times as long, being 1710 feet each. This length of span is necessary, owing to the depth of the two channels on either side of the Island of Inchgarvie, which, in the words of the designer of the bridge, Mr. Baker, "stands like a giant stepping-stone in the middle of the stream to help the way across." The height of the steel work in this structure is also very remarkable, being equal to that of the golden cross at St. Paul's Cathedral.

The bridge is of that type which in old days would have been called a continuous girder bridge; but, in future, Mr. Baker tells us such constructions are to be called "Cantilever" bridges. Cantilever is a 200 year old term for a bracket, and as such examples as the Forth bridge are made up of two brackets and a connecting girder, this is supposed to be a concise and appropriate term to distinguish this type of bridge architecture.

Each of the three main piers have four columns of masonry and concrete from fifty to seventy feet in diameter. These are founded on rock or boulder clay in depths of about ninety feet below high water.

No less than 50,000 tons of steel work have been manufactured on the spot of operations for use in the superstructure. Sometimes as much as 1800 tons has been turned out in a month, while as much as 2350 tons has been erected in the same time. The bridge has not been built on scaffolding, as in ordinary cases, owing to the great depths of water and other reasons. The great steel towers, 370 feet high, were first built, and then were added successive bays of the Cantilevers right and left. Mr. Baker, in his recent address at the Society of Arts, maintained that this system offers great advantages as regards safety during erection, as there is no critical time, every part being securely bolted up as the work goes on. The unfinished structure has already stood the test of storms and sustained no damage. A short while ago in a gale the maximum movement, in the unriveted part of the work, was under half an inch.

The cost of such an undertaking as this is enormous. £500,000 would not cover the amount already spent on such a portion of the work as machinery, staging, railways, steamers, buildings, and

lighting. The granite piers have cost £400,000, the steel work £1,300,000.

Mr. Baker asserts that the practicability of a Channel bridge between Dover and Calais is proved by the success of his design, but that the expense involved in such a gigantic scheme would preclude the question being other than of scientific interest. But Channel bridge enthusiasts have to face also the national feelings on the subject, which will treat the plans with no kindlier sentiments than they have those of the abortive tunnel.

The army of workers in connection with the Forth Bridge has sometimes numbered 4300 at one time; up to the present the death roll from accident is about fifty. Mr. Baker says that this is a rate of mortality about two-thirds of that which occurs with guards and brakemen of goods trains. Most of the fatal falls occurred through the indifference to danger of the workmen.

One of the most interesting features in connection with the operations is the elaborate means which have been taken to calculate the wind pressure on the structure, which is really the most important point in the whole design. At the meeting of the Society of Arts, to which I have alluded above, Mr. Baker described his method of making his investigations. He made a model of the bridge, exactly to scale, with every cross-piece and strut, and then put it into water and towed it slowly behind him in a boat, the model being attached to one end of a bar, at the other end of which was a flat plate, the area of which could be varied at pleasure. The plate was regulated until it exactly balanced the resistance of the model of the bridge, and then by measuring the area of the plate he found the equivalent area of the model, and from that of the bridge itself. On different parts of the structure wind gauges have already been placed. The wind pressure on each span is calculated at 2000 tons laterally, while the heaviest trains would be two coal trains of 400 tons each. The lateral action of the wind would be two and a half times as great as the heaviest trains. Therefore travellers by the bridge need never feel anxious lest the structure be groaning beneath the weight of the train, because, on account of the greater strains it will have to encounter, it has been built so strongly that, to quote the words of Sir Frederick Bramwell, "The bridge would know as much about the trains passing over it as an elephant would of a blue-bottle settling on its back."

South African Star Lore.—An interesting paper on this subject, written by Mr. Hammond Tooke, and read and discussed by the Rev. Dr. Kolbe, was presented in January last to the South African Philosophical Society. The facts collected are well worth preserving. It appears that of all black races, the degraded Bushmen receive the most distinctive impressions from the heavenly bodies. Their fancies about them, however childish, show something of the latent sensibility which finds expression in their attempts at plastic art. The stars are to them a vital reality, and are individualized by association either with fantastic legends or with the recurring gifts of the seasons. Thus Canopus is to them the "ant-

egg star," because its appearance gives notice of that delicacy being available for food. The same star is the fire-bringer of the Victorian aborigines, who gratefully recognize in Arcturus the discoverer of the "bittur," or larvæ of the wood-ant.

The Bushmen have framed no constellations, but apply to single stars an animal nomenclature. Alpha and Beta Centauri are lions, the three brightest gems of the Cross lionesses, Aldebaran figures as a hartebeest, the stars in Orion's Belt as tortoises, and so on. The Milky Way they consider was formed by a girl of the ancient race throwing ashes into the sky. They separate—ineptly enough, it seems to us—"dawn-stars" from "night-stars," calling Jupiter the "Dawn's Heart," and Regulus her child. But the distinction between planets and fixed stars has never become apparent to them. It is, however, well established in at least one Bantu dialect, which qualifies the torches of the sky as either "wandering" or "stationary." This marks a step towards a beginning of real science which the Homeric Greeks had not taken, and their descendants never of themselves took.

The Zulus bestow an identical designation upon "star" and "firefly," and call Venus when shining after sunset—for what reason is not apparent—a "beggar for corn." Their name for the Pleiades associates them with the ploughing season, which, however now anticipates by about six weeks the evening rising of the cluster. From the Congo to the Limpopo, traces are found of the primitive "Pleiad-year," the wide prevalence of which bears such curious testimony to the fundamental unity of the human race.

The Total Solar Eclipse of January 1, 1889.—The new year opened well for American astronomers. "Californian weather" favoured the "Californian eclipse," and the disasters and dis gusts of the observing parties who visited Russia on a similar errand in August 1887 were compensated, as disasters and dis gusts frequently are, by the more prosperous fortune of their successors. During the two minutes of totality, an immense amount of valuable work, chiefly of the photographic kind, was accomplished. The most elaborately equipped of many thoroughly efficient expeditions was sent out by Harvard College Observatory, and took up its station, under the command of Mr. W. H. Pickering, at Willows, in California. Their plan of operations was in all essentials satisfactorily carried through. With a photographic refractor of thirteen inches aperture, the largest ever applied to such a purpose, several plates were taken, which, according to Professor Holden, show an "amazing amount" of coronal detail. The diameter of the sun on them is $1\frac{8}{10}$ inches. Some fine pictures of the corona were also secured by Father Charroppin, of the Jesuit College at St. Louis, who was attached as expert photographer to Professor Pritchett's party from the St. Louis University. The full discussion of all such records will, however, demand much time. Over two hundred drawings and photographs have before now probably been sent for examination to the Lick Observatory; and these represent only a

fraction of the store, which, collected during two minutes, may require many months to elucidate.

A remarkable programme, devised by Mr. Burekhalter, of the Chabot Observatory, was successfully executed by above a score of members of the Amateur Photographic Association of the Pacific Coast. Each individual continued exposing plates throughout the obscuration, but without varying the time of exposure, which was however, different for each. The 167 capital negatives thus obtained in about twenty sets, with exposures lengthening upward from half a second, form a series which can hardly fail to prove highly instructive, especially as regards gradations of actinic power in the various coronal regions.

The immediate result of the eclipse was to show that the corona had resumed the peculiar aspect worn by it in 1867 and 1878; so that it may now be taken to be fully established that, at intervals of eleven years, and at epochs of fewest sunspots, a certain type of solar halo makes its appearance. Vast luminous streamers are then seen to stretch away along the level of the sun's equator, accompanied by short filamentous emanations from each pole, vividly picturing the "lines of force" round the poles of a magnet. There is little room for doubt as to the electrical character of these curious structures, which are especially well shown in a photograph of the late eclipse taken by Mr. Barnard, of Lick, and reproduced in the March number of the *Observatory*. The equatorial "wings" are of course only the perspective representation of a great disc of light surrounding the sun on all sides, and perhaps identical with the far-stretching Zodiacal Light. This disc appears to be composed mainly of solid or liquid particles reflecting the radiance of the photosphere. In 1878, at any rate, the spectrum of the corona was strongly continuous, the bright lines indicative of gaseous constituents which are conspicuously derived from the stellated corona of maximum sunspots, having nearly faded out. The spectroscopic observations were this year photographically registered, and the plates, when last heard of, had not yet been developed; but since they were taken under Mr. Pickering's direction, the best results may be expected from them.

The slightness of the New Year's Day obscuration was accounted for by its short duration. The apparent size of the moon was not sufficient to cover at one time more than an inconsiderable portion of the sun's bright surroundings. Hence a twilight illumination prevailed. Very few stars were disclosed, but Venus and Mars showed easily side by side to the naked eye, and Mercury appeared on all the Lick photographs of the partial phases (Mount Hamilton lay outside the track of totality). The visual effect of the corona was very fine, and its intrinsic splendour was proved by the standing out against it in relief of the part of the moon off the sun during some minutes both before and after the total phase. The search for an intra-mercurial planet was, as usual, unsuccessful; "Vulcan" remains as mythical as the limping artisan of the "Iliad."

The Coal Question.—A paper of exceptional national interest was lately read before the Royal Statistical Society by Mr. Price-Williams. It dealt with the limited duration of the coal supply of the United Kingdom. According to Mr. Price-Williams's statistics, which he has evidently collected with much care, our coal supply cannot last much beyond a century. He arrives at this conclusion by examining the annual output of each known coal field, and comparing it with the available supply of each district as estimated by the Royal Commission in 1871. He is of opinion that the suspected coal fields in Cheshire and on the southern borders of the Lancashire coal fields and the country around Manchester and Stockport could not be practically worked, owing to their depth, even if therein is the one day precious fuel. It is stated that the Northumberland and Durham coal field still gives to Newcastle its pre-eminence as the chief source of coal supply. The output last year from Durham alone was $28\frac{3}{4}$ million tons, which is more than one-sixth of the total production in the United Kingdom. But during the last few years there has been a marked decline in the output from these northern mines, which shows that the maximum limit of their production has been reached, and that the output will continue to decline. At the average rate of increased production during the last 22 years the 9294 million tons of available supply in the northern fields will be worked out.

The total available supply in the South Wales fields is estimated at 36,566 million tons, being just one-third of the whole available supply in the United Kingdom. This, at the rapid rate of increased production which has obtained during the last quarter of a century, must be exhausted in 79 years. In the eastern division of Glamorgan-shire the available supply is estimated at 12,963 million tons. This will come to an end in 42 years. In 1887 the production from the coal field in Lancashire exceeded $20\frac{3}{4}$ million tons. The available supply in this field is relatively small, less than one-sixth of that of South Wales; so that the present annual drain of $20\frac{3}{4}$ million tons upon its store of only 5636 million tons is such that, allowing for waste in working, 74 years can be put down as the limit of the duration of the supply.

In the Midland fields (comprising Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire) the supply is estimated at 18,478 million tons. It is calculated that this will be worked out in 90 years. To the Warwickshire fields, containing only a supply of 459 million tons, some 53 years is assigned as the limit. The Derbyshire and Flintshire fields, containing 2005 million tons, are given 250 years at the present rate of output. The available supply in Scotland is estimated at 9844 million tons. During the last twelve years the growth of the Scotch coal traffic has not been very rapid, averaging about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum during the whole of the period. Assuming this rate to be maintained, the supply would last about 92 years.

Not the least interesting in Mr. Price-Williams's statistics are those figures dealing with the amount of coal used for different purposes.

The total consumption in respect of steam navigation in 1887 amounted to at least $13\frac{3}{4}$ million tons. In the same year, on the railways of the United Kingdom, more than six million of tons was used.

Mr. Price-Williams goes at some length into the subject of our yearly increasing coal exports. He estimates that the exports have considerably more than doubled during the last seventeen years. Last year's exports reached 27 million tons. The rate of increase during 34 years was 5.66 per cent. per annum. Assuming the average rate to continue during the next 34 years, last year's coal export of 27 million tons would in that time have increased to $163\frac{3}{4}$ million tons, or to more than the whole output of the United Kingdom last year; while the aggregate coal exports during that period would amount to 2538 million tons, compared with $151\frac{1}{2}$ million tons exported during the last 34 years. He regards these exports as a necessity of our commercial prosperity. "The rate of increase of our coal exports is, as Stanley Jevons shows, the measure of our increased commercial prosperity, and to impose any tax upon such exports would be killing the goose that lays the golden eggs, as the effect of any restriction would necessarily tend to arrest that remarkable development of the trade and commerce of this country which has followed, and, to a large extent, is the consequence of, the introduction of steam power, or, more correctly speaking, of coal power." Notwithstanding these remarks, he thinks, with Professor Stanley Jevons, that the foreign coal trade "bids fair to bring us to an early end."

As may be expected, Mr. Price-Williams did not finish his remarks without drawing some practical conclusion. His advice to the rising generation is to prolong the existence of coal by economy in its use, to give up the reckless waste which is so painfully apparent. We are reminded of the long black flags of smoke which still fly from many a tall factory chimney in our manufacturing cities and the thousand smaller flags which stream from our house tops. The amount of coal used in domestic purposes, as estimated in 1869, was about $18\frac{1}{2}$ million tons, which the author calculates has increased to about $29\frac{1}{2}$ million tons in 1887. Here it is, as in the case of manufactures, that economy might work wonders in reducing the amount used. The late Sir W. Siemens is quoted as having remarked to the author of the paper we are reviewing that the waste of coal used for domestic purposes is simply disgraceful, only a very small portion of the heat being utilized. It is pointed out advisedly that we waste our coal to ruin our health and comfort, for the darkness which envelops our large cities is the unconsumed particles of coal suspended in the atmosphere. The amount of coal represented in a London fog will one day have a priceless value. As an encouragement to further economies, two well-known examples of economical processes in manufacture are cited—the Bessemer and the Siemens processes.

Mr. Jeans has pointed out, in his paper on "The Consumption and Economy of Fuel," that the annual saving in fuel effected by the Bessemer process amounted in 1881 to over 5 million tons a year. Economies have also resulted from the utilization of the waste heat from blast furnaces in producing steam power for the various engines for driving the rolling mills and other machinery. Further saving has been attained by heating the blast by means of Cowper's fire-brick stoves, by the employment of which a saving of some 20 per cent. has been accomplished. Most will agree with Mr. Price-Williams when he insists on these economies, but he seems to regard them merely in the light of putting off the "evil day"—"the end," to use the words of Stanley Jevons. If coal were the only example of stored energy in nature we might then agree with him and the illustrious professor whose words he so often quoted during this paper, but, fortunately for posterity, there are other sources of energy available—unlimited resources, we may almost say. It is upon the utilization of natural energies that our national prosperity depends, not on coal *per se*. Coal is merely the present symbol of those natural energies. Even at the present moment, when "the end" is, in the opinion of the gloomy prophets, at a distance of a century, an electric motor can saw, drill, and hammer as well as any steam engine, and coal need have no part in the mechanical motion—a waterfall, or even the wind, might be the initial power utilized. The work of the next generation will be to develop the practical applications of electricity—the link between natural sources of energy and mechanical work. An economy of coal, as urged by Mr. Price-Williams, will be wise, that we may prolong the time of its existence to acquire the desired experience in adapting other powers to our work, but, if economy is a national duty, so is the development of the electrical industry, upon which the hopes of our descendants must mainly rest.

Nebular Photography.—The latest "sensation" in celestial photography has been afforded by Mr. Roberts's picture of the great nebula in Andromeda. The outburst in August 1885, of a "new star" in the very midst of this extraordinary object, gave it some temporary notoriety. But the blaze has long since become extinct; and, with the *status quo ante*, public indifference has returned. Ignorance begets unconcern; and it must be admitted that the efforts of astronomers had, until quite recently, thrown little light upon the real nature of the "Queen of the Nebulae." The Liverpool photograph, taken October 1, 1888, with an exposure of four hours, came upon them "as a revelation." It is more than a portrait; it is a plan. And the structural scheme which it discloses proves, quite unexpectedly, to be of the "spiral" kind. Two apparently straight, and nearly parallel dark rifts in the soft radiance of the nebula, discovered by Bond, of Cambridge in the United States, on September 14, 1847, seemed an utterly anomalous feature, until, on Mr. Roberts's plates, they resolved themselves into the dusky interspaces between bright rings surrounding a highly condensed nuclear mass.

Closer scrutiny shows these rings as the widening coils of a flat spiral. Their convolutions are followed by streams of minute stars, self-imprinted by thousands on the negatives. The presence of this significant feature was pointed out by Mr. Ranyard, and is apparent in the careful drawing by Mr. Wesley, reproduced in the February number of *Knowledge*.

The presence of two secondary condensations, one on each of, but at different distances from, the main nucleus, has been thought to lend to this vast annular formation the characteristic aspect of a sun and planets in course of development on the precise lines of Laplace's nebular hypothesis. But the analogy, however irresistibly suggested, may be misleading. Some design of the Great Architect of the Universe is indeed plainly in process of being executed by the forces slowly moulding into orderly arrangement the particles of an agglomeration just visible to the naked eye as a "greasy spot" in the heavens; but it would be rash to predict what that design may prove to be. It is only certain that the system it is directed to produce will be on an enormous scale. The entire solar system would occupy a mere fractional part of the area covered by it. If the Andromeda nebula were at the distance from us of the nearest fixed star, its diameter would be more than three hundred times that of the orbit of Neptune. But it is practically certain that it is far more remote—so much more so, conceivably, that, viewed from its place, the sun and Sirius would group together as closely as Atlas and Alcyone in the Pleiades do to us.

Some experiments in photographic nebular exploration, recently made at Harvard College, afforded a pretty large crop of new, visually very faint, objects. In the region selected for survey, one hundred and fifty square degrees in extent, the great Orion nebula occupies a nearly central position. It came out on the plates with surprising dimensions. Not only the stars of the Sword are embraced by it, but indications are unmistakable of its fundamental connection with branching and irregular nebulosities perceived to surround, and stretch south from Zeta Orionis, the most southerly of the brilliant trio in the Belt. Thus, the mutual dependence and systemic unity of all the nebulous patches and ramifications in that neighbourhood, which Sir William Herschel half detected, half divined, a century ago, have been confirmed by an authentic autographic record.

Twelve new nebulae, where eighteen had been known before, emerged to view on the Harvard negatives. An extension of the process over the entire sky would, if the same proportion held good, enlarge our nebulous acquaintance from the 7840 of Dr. Dreyer's New Catalogue to some twelve thousand. And in the less-explored southern skies, the ratio of new to old might be expected to prove considerably higher. It is possible, indeed, that the Orion district may be a more productive mine of latent nebular wealth than it would be easy to find elsewhere. The trial, in any case, could be easily made. Owing to the large field of view of the instrument employed at Harvard College—a "photographic doublet" of eight

inches aperture and only forty-four inches focal length—the exposure of 400 plates would suffice for a general review, which would thus not be costly of time or labour. The extraordinary astronomical prerogatives of “dry-plates,” with their unlimited powers of steady star-gazing, could not be more strikingly illustrated than by the fact that the camera is now the chosen engine of nebular discovery.

Great Telescopes.—The optical championship of the Lick refractor is no longer secure. A further stride ahead is contemplated, and may shortly to be realized. The University of Southern California, outbidding the sister establishment at San Francisco, proposes to plant a forty-two inch telescope on the summit of Wilson's Peak, 5800 feet above the sea. An instrument both larger, and nearer the stars than that on Mount Hamilton, will thus be provided, and since Alvan Clark has taken the contract, the presumption is in favour of its satisfactory execution. The difficulty which so long barred the completion of the rival now about to be supplanted, has already been overcome. Flawless glass discs forty-four inches across have been successfully cast in Paris, and will be shown next summer at the Exhibition. The stipulated cost, without tube or mount, of the object-glass which they will form is £21,000, and the time allowed the Clarks for its production is five years.

The light-grasp of the coming giant telescope will exceed that of its immediate predecessor in the proportion of about eighteen to thirteen; its space-penetrating power will be as seven to six. In other words, if the *minimum visibile* in the Lick thirty-six inch be a star distant, let us say, 600 light-years, the same star removed to 700 light-years would still be discernible with the forty-two inch. Measured on the accepted light-scale, the gain is, however, of only one-third of a magnitude. The wisdom, indeed, may be questioned of further exaggerating the size of optical implements. Far more to the purpose would be the removal of the defects still inherent in them. A forty-two inch object-glass, even if turned out from the workshop absolutely perfect, could not very long continue so. Deformation through its own weight would gradually mar all the fine touches of the artist's skill. It will then be no matter for regret should the sixty-inch achromatic talked of at Washington prove to be one of the mere “big pumpkins” of blatant Yankeeedom.

In our own country, the largest reflector of modern times has just been constructed by Mr. Common. The mirror, which is of silver on glass, is five feet in diameter. Although of smaller dimensions than the Rosse leviathan, it nevertheless, owing to the superiority in reflective capacity of a silver film over speculum metal, collects more light, and is hence optically more powerful. It is destined for use in astronomical photography, and more especially for forming what we may call an autographic historical portrait gallery of the great nebulae. But the execution of its assigned task encounters grave difficulties from the dim skies of Ealing, where weeks, nay months, may elapse between one chance of a long stare at a celestial *sitter* and the next.

An emphatic warning against erecting good instruments in bad situations is afforded by the history of the Gateshead achromatic. At the time of its completion, early in 1863, it was by far the largest refractor in the world, and is still without a rival on British soil. Of twenty-five inches aperture, the labours and anxieties connected with what was then an enterprise of unprecedented magnitude, hurried its maker, Thomas Cooke, of York, into the grave. But no systematic work has ever been done with it. Virtually blinded by the murkiness of its surroundings, it has lain helpless for twenty-one years, wrapt in the smoke and fog of a manufacturing seaport. Its owner, Mr. Newall, once declared that, during fifteen years, he had known only *one* fine night; and he has now, at last, stimulated perhaps by the munificence of Lord Crawford, offered the monster telescope as a gift to the University of Cambridge. But it is much to be feared that on the banks of the Cam it will be only a degree less useless than near the shore of the German Ocean, and that one more great opportunity is about to be wasted. With such an instrument, set up, for instance, in one of the splendid observing stations which abound in South Africa, a zealous and skilful observer might do work making an epoch in our physical knowledge of southern skies. It ought, by this time, to be fully recognized that, the larger the telescope, the more completely it is liable to be crippled by atmospheric hindrances.

The First Report of the Thunderstorm Committee.—Photographs of Lightning Flashes.—The Thunderstorm Committee of the Royal Meteorological Society are doing active work. They lately drew up their first report. It deals with the photographs of lightning flashes. In June 1887 the Committee invited the co-operation of photographic societies in various parts of the world in obtaining such photographs. Before eight or nine months had elapsed the Meteorological Society possessed what is the most unique photographic collection in the world, no less than sixty lightning flashes being represented. The appearance of the photographed flash is something quite different from that of a flash as usually observed by the human eye. These appearances in the several specimens have marked differences, therefore it has been possible from these photographs to classify various typical forms, though it is at present unknown under what circumstances these various forms are assumed by the electrical discharge. The commonest type is what the Committee call *Sinuus Lightning*. Under this type the flash keeps in one general direction, but the line is sinuous, bending from side to side in a very irregular manner. The thickness of line seems to vary during discharge; sometimes the thinnest part of the white streak is the highest, and the flash appears to get thicker as it approaches the earth. Sometimes a flash in the air broadens out in the middle and grows fine again at the further extremity. In explanation of these effects no theory is yet suggested, but the Committee draws attention to the fact that in some photographs of electric sparks produced from an induction

coil, the high tension sparks are thinner than those of low tension. One may confidently expect that a comparative series of observations between the photographs of discharges of coils and influence machines on the one hand, and photographs of lightning flashes on the other, is the best method of throwing light on the subject. The best example of the *sinuous* type was a photograph taken on the Alleghany Mountains. Another type is *Stream Lightning*, which, to use the exact words of the report, is a "plain, broad, rather smooth streak of light." Specimens of this class seem rarer, as only two or three have been received. It has been thought by some that the stream of light, with its attendant irregularities, is the result of bad focussing, but the Committee do not think this can be the case, because in one beautiful photograph the objects revealed by the flash, such as trees, &c., are exceedingly sharp in definition. Another type is *Meandering Lightning*. In this form the flash meanders about in the air without a definite course, and forms small irregular loops. There is also *Ramified Lightning*, in which part of the flash branches off from the main streak like the fibres from the root of a tree. A remarkable form is *Beaded Lightning*, in which bright beads appear in the streak. The last class mentioned is *Ribbon Lightning*, the flash exhibiting a ribbon-like form, one edge of which is usually much whiter and firmer than the other. It seems, however, that this peculiar effect is due to photographic causes, either the duplication of the image by reflection inside the lens or from the back of the plate. It is not, therefore, accepted as a true type of flash until further evidence on the subject has been obtained. No better test of the truth of the appearance of a photographic flash can be found than the reproduction by the intensity machine. There can be little doubt that the beaded flash is a true type, as this form has actually been reproduced by Mr. Wimshurst in the discharge from one of his colossal machines. A curiosity amongst these pictures is one in which there are five ordinary white flashes and one dark streak of precisely the same character. The dark flash has been explained by Mons. C. Moussette, of Paris, to be the effect of so over-exposing the plate as to produce the well-known inversion of a negative by over-exposure—as when the ball of the sun appears black on the positive print instead of white. It is mentioned that there is not the slightest evidence in the photographs of the angular *zig-zag* or *forked* form commonly seen in pictures. This statement is worded as if the Committee in question thought that artists have been to blame in representing false views of lightning flashes. Some scientists have gone so far as to say that in future artists who depict the conventional lightning flash will be classed with those transgressors who paint the rainbow with its colours in wrong order. But are not the scientists rather hard on the artists? There is no doubt that to the human eye the flash often does take the appearance of a zig-zag, such an effect being due to some optical illusion at present unexplained. But all optical illusions are the result of certain optical laws, therefore the despised zig-zag is in one sense as much a

scientific reality as the *stream* or the *ramified* appearances revealed by the camera. Probably there are some eyes more capable of accurate observation than others. To take a case mentioned in the report of the Thunderstorm Committee:—Mr. Nasmyth in 1856 communicated a paper to the British Association, in which he said that the true natural form of a primitive flash of lightning appeared to him to be more correctly represented by an intensely crooked line, and on several occasions he has observed it to assume the forked or branched form, but never the zig-zag. In giving this opinion, before a photograph of a lightning flash was ever seen, Mr. Nasmyth showed he was possessed with an eagle eye of observation. But it is probable that the education of even an average eye to observe lightning flashes might resolve the zig-zag into something more or less like the typical forms mentioned above. There have been great painters who, like Mr. Nasmyth, have educated the eye to separate illusion from reality. Turner's "Stonehenge" represents a storm which Mr. Ruskin considers "the standard of storm drawing," and he points out in this picture "the white lightning, not as it is shown by less observant and less capable painters, in zig-zag fortifications, but in its own dreadful irregularity of streaming fire."

Correlations and their Measurements.—Advances in Anthropometry have been made by Mr. Francis Galton as results of the data he has collected at the Laboratory in the South Kensington Museum and elsewhere. At the Laboratory 1200 persons have been measured in different ways during the past year. Mr. F. Galton has been able to explore the problem of correlation, to express, and to measure it, and in so doing to find out that in tabulating his data he was reproducing familiar forms already made known in the consideration of Hereditary Stature. Thus he has established that family likeness is only one form of the wide subject of correlation. Two years ago he announced that a peculiarity in the father was found to be reproduced in the son reduced by $\frac{1}{2}$, a peculiarity in the son could be traced in the father to $\frac{1}{2}$ of its amount in the son, the regression in the case of a known brother to an unknown brother was $\frac{2}{3}$, from uncle to nephew or *vice versa* $\frac{2}{3}$, and in very distant kinship from 1 to 0. These ratios are now found to hold good of correlation generally. The relation of head-length to head-breadth is of the same kind as the above, and so on of the close relation of the length of corresponding limbs—it is a kinship, with reciprocal regression. To find, however, the reciprocal regression between limbs whose scales of variation are different, such as the length of the middle finger and stature, these differences have to be allowed for. When this is done the proportion is reciprocal, and there is always regression. Mr. Galton makes the necessary allowance by taking as the unit of variety Q, *i.e.*, the probable error. Q, the probable error, is a necessary datum for any application of the law of frequency of error. Its use as the unit "enables the variations of the most diverse qualities to be compared with as much precision as those of the same quality. Thus, variations in

lung-capacity, which are measured in volume, can be compared with those of strength measured by weight lifted, or of swiftness measured in time and distance." In his presidential address on "Human Variety," to the Anthropological Institute, this spring, Mr. F. Galton explained how Q —that is, the measure of variety—is to be arrived at. He first dwells on the orderliness of variability; then, to measure it, he collects a series, marshals the members of this sample to be examined into order, from the smallest to the greatest, sorting them into one hundred values: the middlemost will be the 50th grade, which is M . Values in a marshalled series are only regular in their middle parts, extremes below grade 5° and above grade 95° are misleading; therefore the variety must be measured from points somewhere between these two extremes. 25° and 75° , the $\frac{1}{4}$ grades, are selected: the difference between these values must be a basis of the unit of variety; $\frac{1}{2}$ the value of the difference, is the real unit, for 25° is as much below the mean M as 75° is above, so that the "average of these two values is a better measure than their sum." Thus if 25° is represented by Q_1 , 75° by Q_3 , the unit of variety Q is $\frac{1}{2}(Q_3 - Q_1)$. The factor obtained by the aid of Q from a pair of correlated variables is expressed by r , and measures the closeness of the relation.

We thus see that the measure of correlation is most easily expressed, not by measuring the actual lengths of two variables—say, a cubit and stature—but by measuring (1) the deviation of the length of the cubit from the mean of a class of cubits, and (2) the deviation of the mean of the statures under consideration from the mean of a number of statures.

Mr. F. Galton's calculations and tables, and the results he draws from them, are full of interest and repay study. Much data will be found in a book he is just publishing, "Natural Inheritance," but those concerning correlation have only lately been read before the Royal Society, and will be published in their Proceedings in due course.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

The Unknown Horn of Africa.—Mr. James, already known as the Author of "Wild Tribes of the Soudan," has given the foregoing title to that triangular prominence of the African mainland culminating in Cape Guardafui, and generally known as Somali-land. The hostility of the natives to European travellers has hitherto

* "The Unknown Horn of Africa." By F. L. James, M.A. London: G. Philip & Son. 1888.

rendered any extensive exploration of this country impossible, and the feat achieved by Mr. James and his party in 1885, in penetrating 300 miles southward from Berbera, has, we believe, never been equalled by previous expeditions. His goal was the Leopard River, or Webbe Shebeyli, reported to be a considerable stream watering a fertile country. The intervening region was found to be little better than a desert, the sparse and stunted vegetation, and extreme scantiness of the water supply rendering the march an anxious and arduous one. Nothing indeed could have made it possible but the extreme endurance of the Somali camels, which were found capable of travelling for thirteen days without water. The rivers only flow in the rainy season, and the few wells are pools of dirty water. Cattle and sheep are, nevertheless, reared, and even form an item of exportation from Berbera. The comparative luxuriance of the Shebeyli valley, where crops flourished and game and vegetation abounded, was a pleasing contrast to the other regions traversed. The original intention entertained, of following this river to the coast, was frustrated by circumstances, and the expedition returned to its starting-point by a route differing only slightly from the one followed in its outward march. Judicious conduct on the part of the leaders averted the oft-threatened outbreaks of native hostility, and enabled them to return in safety from a country of which it has been said that "to be killed was the fate of nearly every white man who ventured into it." The Somals are a fierce and powerful race, who maintain in their service servile tribes of inferior physique but higher advancement in the mechanical arts and industries.

The Heart of Asia.—The three French explorers, Messrs. Bonvalot, Pépin, and Capus, have just published in two profusely illustrated volumes,* the narrative of their adventurous journey through Central Asia, and over the great Pamir Steppe to Kashmir and India. This latter part of the exploration involved the crossing of the Alai and the Trans-Alai, by passes, some 15,000 feet high, in the month of March, and in a temperature which sometimes at night fell to 75 degrees of frost. The Pamir itself is about 12,000 feet above the sea, and was covered with snow to the depth of two feet, while its large lake, the Kara Kul, was a sheet of ice. The Oxus (Ak Su, or White Water), was tracked to some of its numerous sources, which are fed from the accumulated snows of the "Roof of the World." Only a few scattered encampments of Kara Kirghiz, with yaks and camels, were encountered in this desolate region, for traversing which provisions and all supplies had to be carried on pack-horses. The food consisted of slabs of bread soaked in fat and rebaked, mutton boiled down, salted, and enclosed in bladders, flour cakes, roasted millet and dried apricots, a dainty much esteemed by the Kirghiz. Clothing consisted of a double sheepskin pelisse, with a hood covering the whole face except

* "Through the Heart of Asia." By Gabriel Bonvalot. Translated by C. B. Pitman. London: Chapman & Hall. 1889.

the eyes, felt boots and stockings, and long sleeves to protect the arms. A double tent provided the shelter for the night, and candles in oilcloth lanterns the means of illumination. A ton of barley was required for forage, little or none being obtainable on the road. Wakhan, the valley of the Upper Oxus, an outlying dependency of Afghanistan, was reached from the Little Pamir, after which the Baroguil Pass over the Hindu Kush, with a summit 12,000 feet high, brought the travellers to Chitral, on the southern slope of the great mountain system, after two months spent in traversing its defiles. Their homeward route lay through Kashmir, Rawul Pindi, and eventually the port of Kurrachee on the Persian Gulf.

A New African Explorer.—Mr. Arnot, a countryman of Livingstone, fired with enthusiasm in his boyhood by the personal influence of the great explorer himself, has performed the feat of crossing Africa diagonally from Natal to the West Coast, in a journey prolonged over seven years. Though not a missionary, and unconnected with any missionary society, he regards himself as a missionary pioneer, and acted on the principle of cultivating friendly and amicable relations with the natives. Even in cases of disputes or difficulties, instead of taking the law into his own hands, like many travellers, he invariably appealed to native tribunals, and declares that substantial justice was always done him. With the slenderest outfit and almost unarmed, he thus penetrated regions which can usually be traversed only by costly expeditions. Starting from Natal in 1881, he made his way in company with the South African Nimrod, Mr. Selous, through Khame's country to the Zambesi, which he reached at Sesheke. Following the river upwards, he reached Lealui, the Barotse capital, where he made a stay of some months. As the chief, though very friendly to him, refused to permit him to visit the mountainous country to the north, he struck towards the north-west, towards Bihé on the Portuguese frontier, through a wonderful country, the birthplace of many waters, whose hydrography he has helped to unravel. From almost the same spot rivers start to flow east, west, north, and south, draining a central earth-sponge where in the rainy season their head-waters meet and mingle in the same watery expanse. He seems to have clearly proved that Livingstone's Leeba coming from the north-east, and not the river flowing out of Lake Dilolo, is the real Zambesi.

A Central African Potentate.—Mr. Arnot, after an excursion to the West Coast in quest of letters, turned eastward again, and reached the country of the Garanganze. Here he spent two years in the capital of the powerful king or chief, Msiri or Msidi, situated in the centre of an immense inhabited plain in the magnificent valley of the Lualaba. The present ruler, originally an adventurer from Unyamwesi, where his father was a copper trader, was made heir by adoption to the late king, and subsequently carved for himself a wider dominion out of the crumbling empire of the Muata

Yanvo. He administers rude but substantial justice, and has shown great governing power in welding together the heterogeneous tribes submitted to him, and since leavened by a large intermixture of his own countrymen. Here, as elsewhere, the slave trade is the great blot on African institutions, and Msidi's capital is one of the largest marts in Central Africa for human merchandise, as well as for copper, ivory, and salt. The king himself is, like him of Uganda, the great purveyor of the slave trade, as he sells the numerous captives made on his military expeditions to Arab dealers from Zanzibar, from Bihé, from the Zambesi Valley, and from the Victoria Nyanza. Great regions west of the Lualaba were consequently found totally depopulated by the ravages of this nefarious traffic. Msidi has a curious politico-domestic system of administration, his 500 nominal wives being in reality officers of State, one of whom represents him at the court of each of his vassal chiefs. Mr. Arnot thinks highly of the capacity for improvement of his people, as well as of their industry and enterprise.

Subsidence in the Cheshire Salt District.—The enormous increase in the production of salt in the Cheshire district is beginning to be a cause of serious loss and damage to the owners of property. The salt exports of England now amount to 1,000,000 tons a year, principally withdrawn in the shape of brine from the earth beneath a thickly inhabited district. There are in Cheshire two saliferous strata, the upper one having a depth of 25 and the lower of 35 yards, the two being separated by a bed of indurated clay 30 yards thick. The Northwich beds extend over an area of about three square miles, and contain in both strata 900,000,000 tons. The Winsford beds occupy double that area, and contain 1,900,000,000 tons of salt. Assuming that 32 cwt. of manufactured white salt represents one cubic yard of solid salt on the salt bed, it is calculated that the annual output from the Northwich and Winsford districts would leave a vacuum of one yard in thickness spread over 200 acres. The consequence of this large abstraction of solid material may be seen in the tottering and decrepit condition of buildings in Northwich and Winsford, where houses and shops are humble imitations of the leaning Tower of Pisa. The level of the High Street in the former town has had to be artificially raised three feet within the past twelve months, and unpleasant surprises are occasionally prepared for visitors to its neighbourhood, like that of the Cheshire farmer who stabled his horse in an inn, and returned after a short absence to find him engulfed. The perpetual dislocation of domestic architecture necessitates constant repairs, drains are choked, and gas and water-pipes liable to rupture or leakage. In Winsford, the damage from subsidence is estimated at £100,000, and here within the last twenty years a bone factory, a dockyard, a corn mill, and two sets of salt works have been entirely demolished, while some of the shops have had to be rebuilt three times over. The market-place, after sinking 30 feet, and requiring reconstruction, has now found a solid foundation, the entire salt bed beneath it having been worked out. Near the

Station Road, which has sunk 40 feet, is to be seen a house with its ridge tiles and chimneys a few feet above ground, the remainder of the premises having gone down. In some places large lakes called "flashes" are formed, some of them more than 200 acres in area and gradually extending. A total of 841 buildings, with a rateable value of £17,524 has been destroyed throughout the district, the loss being borne by the owners, as they are all private property. Under these circumstances the ratepayers and property owners of Northwich have drawn up a strong memorial to the Local Government Board, and intend to petition Parliament for a Royal Commission to sit at Northwich and investigate the subject.—(*Times*, December 29, 1888.)

Indian and Native Opium in China.—Reliable statistics have now been obtained relative to the displacement of foreign by native opium in China, in a series of Reports on the subject from the Commissioners of Customs at the Treaty Ports. The consumption of the latter has made enormous strides since 1863, when it was practically *nil*, and the many decrees against its cultivation, still nominally in force, are actually allowed to remain a dead letter. At all the Treaty Ports it is largely, and at some almost exclusively, used, and at Newchang, Chefoo, and Tientsin, the proportion of the smokers of the native to those of the foreign drug, is calculated at from ten to one to ten to three. In some places it is used pure, in others mixed with the foreign product from Malwa, Benares, Patna, or Persia, as the case may be. The Newchang report, while declaring that 90 per cent. of smokers use the native article, attributes its greater popularity to the fact that it can be smoked seven or eight times over, and the foreign only three times at most. At Tientsin, again, to one chest of foreign, nine of native opium are said to be consumed; its price, in all cases much lower, in some cases less than half that of its rival, giving it a great advantage, while its preparation has been so much improved, that it is stated sometimes to be quite equal to Indian opium. As it is generally smuggled, sometimes by bands of armed men, who openly defy the revenue officers, sometimes by more clandestine methods, it manages moreover to escape taxation.

Its production has so much extended that the reports state it is now grown in every province of the Empire, save the islands of Hainan and Formosa; Yunnan, where it is said to occupy a third of the soil, and Szechuen, where its production amounts annually to 150,000 piculs (the picul equal to 133 1-3rd lb. avoirdupois) being the principal areas of cultivation. In the last-mentioned province, out of a population of 70 millions, seven-tenths of the adult males are stated to be opium-smokers. Notwithstanding this active competition of the native producer, Indian opium still holds its predominant position in the ports of southern China, especially those to the south of Chefoo, while in those north of the Yang-tse, it is largely superseded by the native drug, with which it is most often used in combination. Meantime, the export of Indian opium to

China, although diminished, is not so to anything like a degree corresponding to the enormous increase in the production and consumption of the home-grown variety. The obvious conclusion is, that the habit of opium-smoking is extending so rapidly as to drain both sources of supply, a separate class of customers existing for each. The coolies and lower class population generally, with whom price is a supreme object, will naturally adapt their tastes to their pockets, and consume the cheap native-grown drug, while among those who can afford to be epicures in their indulgence, the Indian opium will continue to find a sale. Thus there is no prospect in the immediate future of a total cessation of the revenue from the latter. —(*Times*, December 26, 1888).

Development of British West Africa.—Mr. H. H. Johnston, in an address to the Royal Colonial Institute on Western Africa, began by a comparison of that region with India. While in the interior are mountainous districts where European residents could thrive as well as in Ceylon or the Mauritius, the rest of the country is unpropitious to colonization, not only from its pernicious climate, but also because already occupied by a sturdy, prolific, indigenous race. Only by and through the negro can tropical Africa be developed, and only under European guidance can he be rendered capable of doing so. The absence of mental initiative in the natives of Africa is counterbalanced by great imitative power and the faculty of rapidly assimilating the ideas of a superior race. In Western Africa, by which term Mr. Johnston designates the basin of the Niger and its eastern affluent the Benue, he believes cattle-breeding could be as successfully practised as in America or Australia, as it is already carried on by the natives, who in addition rear and ride the horse, ass, and camel. The exports of the West Coast consist, however, principally of its vegetable products, with the exception of ivory, a large article of trade on the Niger, and monkey-skins, exported in considerable numbers from the Gold Coast. The British dominions in the latter region extend for 350 miles along the coast, the possession of which carries with it the protectorate, or exclusive political control, of the countries lying behind it. It would not, in Mr. Johnston's opinion, be a matter of any difficulty to extend British authority or influence from the Gold Coast up to the great bend of the Niger, giving exclusive commercial control of those regions. The colony of Lagos, though one of the youngest, has outstripped most of the other settlements in rapidity of development, and its trade, which in 1862-63 amounted only to £329,479, had increased in 1887 to £906,812. The total trade of Great Britain with its possessions on the West Coast of Africa, from December 1887 to December 1888 amounted, in round numbers, to five millions sterling, divided almost equally between imports and exports.

Ascent of Kilima-njaro.—The *Cologne Gazette* prints a letter dated from Moschi, November 24, from Herr Otto E. Ehlers, announcing the successful ascent of the African Mont Blanc. The

fears entertained for the safety of the traveller, who had started on a journey into the interior before the rising on the coast, were dispelled by the receipt of the letter, in which he says :—

Shortly after I had closed my last letter to you, I received the news that Dr. Meyer's caravan had been annihilated, and that he himself was at Zanzibar, intending to return to Europe. I consequently resolved to undertake the ascent of Kibo, the highest summit of Kilima-njaro, without him, but with the assistance of Dr. Abbott, the American naturalist, who has been exploring this part of the country during the past year. While Mr. Johnston, Count Seleki, and Dr. Meyer endeavoured to reach the summit from the east side, I chose the northern slope as my field of operations, and with complete success, for I was able, the first, to set my foot on the ice dome of the mountain. I cannot give you the exact height until the instruments used have been examined by competent hands; but I have reached an altitude of over 20,000 ft., while my companion broke down at 16,500 ft., and had to give up the race. At a height of over 16,000 ft., we still found traces of elephants, buffaloes, and antelopes. I have secured, besides some birds and beetles, a rather exhaustive collection of the flowers, grasses, lichens, and mosses growing in the different regions of the mountain, besides bringing back a painfully burnt face, frozen hands, cracked lips, and swollen eyelids; in short, I present a sorry spectacle. It would be foolhardy to return to the coast now, and I shall remain for the present here, where I feel perfectly safe. I shall undertake some further smaller expeditions, and shall wait until the condition of things on the coast improves."—(*Times*, January 17, 1889).

The Andaman Islands.—Colonel Cadell, V.C., gave a glowing description of the Andaman Islands, of which he has been Chief Commissioner, to the Scottish Geographical Society on January 15. The scenery of the group, clothed with vegetation to the water's edge, he described as representing fairyland to those sailing through its waters, deep and clear as crystal; forest trees, 200 feet high, some with stems like silver pillars supporting umbrella-like summits, others draped with festoons of creepers, combining with palms, rattans, and lianas to form a perfect ideal of tropical scenery, while the submarine marvels of coral forests and their inhabitants, almost outdo those of the land. The dwellers in this paradise are a dwindling race, hardly one woman in twelve bears children, and of those born the greater number die in infancy of hereditary disease. In twenty-five to thirty years the speaker believes the only survivors of the race will be found in Little Andaman, where they have been preserved from the destructive influences of civilization. They are amply supplied with food, fish, turtle, wild pigs, with yams, and other edible roots, being their most tempting delicacies, but they also consume not only bats, rats, flying foxes, iguanas, sea-snakes, and molluscs, but also the larvæ of beetles and other grubs. The penal settlement at Port Blair, on the east coast of South Andaman, is one of the largest in the world, harbouring about 12,000 convicts, of whom some three-fourths are under sentence for life, and the remainder for terms of seven years and upwards. About 65 per cent. of these are Hindoos, 25 per cent. Mohammedans, and the remainder mainly Buddhists from Burma. The number of sects, castes, and nation-

alities into which this large criminal population is broken up, facilitates the task of their gaolers by lessening the danger of combination among them.

Proposed New Ship Canal.—A project has been mooted for connecting the Bristol and English Channels by a navigable waterway, converting Devonshire and Cornwall into a separate island. The route surveyed and recommended is from Stolford on Bridgwater Bay, through Bridgwater, Langport, Ilminster, and Chard, to Seaton on the English Channel. The total length will be about forty-five miles, and with the exception of the Chard hills, presents no engineering difficulties. As this district is of the lias formation, the lime obtained in cutting through the high ground will be of use for other portions of the work. The canal is intended to be on a scale capable of giving passage to the largest steamers and ships of war, so that ironclads would steam from channel to channel in a few hours, instead of having to go round the Land's End. The greatest benefit would accrue to the trade of South Wales, since in shipping to London and the Continent, a saving of 300 miles would be effected from some ports, in addition to the diminution of risk in avoiding a stormy and dangerous portion of the coast.—(*Times*, January 17, 1889.)

Proposed Congo Railway.—The party of engineers sent out by a Belgian Company to survey a route for a railway along the Congo have now completed their labours, and sent in a report. The latter is highly favourable to the proposed work, which it declares may easily be completed within two years, at the cost of a million sterling. The length will be about 200 miles, and the track selected is on the right bank, about thirty miles from the river, thus avoiding the deep gullies in which its tributaries run as they approach its bed, and crossing them on a plateau slope, where the gradients are comparatively moderate. One river, the Inkissi, will have to be traversed by a bridge 300 feet long, but its construction will be facilitated by the rocks with which the bed of the stream is studded. There are no insuperable engineering difficulties to be encountered, and the execution of the enterprise is only a question of time. Meantime, regular communication with the Upper Congo is about to be established by means of oxen, for whose passage the existing road will be available.

Mineral Wealth of the Shan Hills.—Dr. Noetling, having examined the so-called "magnetic rock" of Singaung, has found the entire hill, covering an area of about a square mile, and rising to a height of 200 feet, to be a mass of pure hematite iron, so situated as to be easy of extraction. He also reports the discovery of a rich vein of platinum, of which he got a sample, as to which he received the following native information: "That the sample had not been found in the neighbourhood of Paungdau, but at a place called Mainkaig, fifteen days' march east from it; that the metal occurred there in great quantities, and that the villagers used to get great lumps of it by Shan traders; but the informant pretended not to know

what it was used for in his village. He further stated that lately a big piece of this metal was sold to a Chinaman, who used it as a medicine."

Exploration of the Atlas.—The "Proceedings" of the Royal Geographical Society for January contain Mr. Joseph Thomson's narrative of his journey through Southern Morocco and the Atlas Mountains. In the latter chain he came upon a very striking natural phenomenon, the bridge-aqueduct of Iminifiri. The traveller on approaching sees what appears to be the mouth of a great cavern, out of which rushes the Wad Demnat in a brawling torrent, while a second stream falls from the precipice above, forming a cascade at one side of the cavern. It is only on entering the latter, under an arch hung with stalactites, and supported by walls resembling clustered pillars, that the true character of the opening is disclosed, and it is discovered to be a natural bridge spanning a mountain gorge at a height of 100 feet from its floor. It is not only used by the natives as a bridge but also serves as an aqueduct, carrying the upper stream over the ravine to that side of it by which it falls. The lime held in solution by the water is conjectured to have gradually formed it, being deposited by the stream on the rocks whence it originally fell into the gorge, and so becoming pushed forward in gradual accumulations until it joined the opposite wall of the gorge. The highest point of the range reached by the traveller was 12,734 feet above sea-level, whence a splendid view over the surrounding valleys was obtained. Mr. Thomson's life was frequently endangered by the fanaticism of the Moors, as was the success of his trip by the laziness and treachery of his men.

Navigation of the Karun.—A valuable paper on this subject, in relation to the trade of Persia, was read on February 13 to the London Chamber of Commerce, by Sir R. Murdoch Smith. The river, whose navigation has been thrown open by treaty, gives a waterway of 110 miles from the Persian Gulf into the heart of Persia, of which the forty miles below Mohammerah, where the Karun joins the Shat-el-Arab, or tidal estuary of the united Tigris and Euphrates, are navigable for ocean-going steamers. The seventy miles thence to Ahwaz, are available for navigation by river steamers, and a further extension of sixty miles to Shushter could be given to the channel by a canal of 2350 yards long, turning the rapids which impede it above the present terminal point. A route would thus be opened to commerce which would have the advantage over Bushire, the nearest existing port, not alone of giving water carriage for 170 miles into the interior, but also of starting from a point on the Persian Gulf which being 150 miles higher, is so much nearer to the heart of Persia. Thus 320 miles of water transport would be substituted for the pack-saddle carriage now available, bringing Ispahan within 258 instead of 520 miles of steam communication with England, and reducing the distance between Teheran, a city of 120,000 inhabitants, and its mercantile port, from 800 to 400 miles.

As the central plateau of Persia, some 4000 to 5000 feet above the sea, is belted in by a mountainous rampart traversed only by rough bridle-paths, extension of water carriage is the only practicable means of facilitating communications with the country. As eighty per cent. of the steamers entering Bushire fly the British flag, it is English commerce which would reap the benefit of the opening up of Southern Persia. The tribes inhabiting the country which would be tapped by the channel of the Karun, Lurs, Bakhtiariis, and Kurds, are by no means insensible to the advantages of civilization, the chiefs having already possessed themselves of watches, Winchester repeaters, revolvers, and other products of modern manufactures. Although some portions of the country are very unsettled, Englishmen have generally been welcomed there, and British credit stands so high in Persia that it is said an Englishman has only to present a cheque in Shushter or Ispahan to receive payment without question, on the faith of his nationality alone.

Notes on Novels.

French Janet. By the Author of "Citoyenne Jacqueline," "St. Mungo's City," &c. 2 Vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1889.

THIS is a slight story, written with all Miss Tytler's usual skill and power. We call it a "slight story," for although it is in two volumes there is not very much material in it. It is a kind of legend, somewhat weird in character, such as Sir Walter would have worked up into another "Blind Fiddler's Story," but which this writer expands, by a series of subsidiary sketches, into what may be called a romance. The scene is laid in the south of Scotland, a century and a half ago, and the principal characters are a Mrs. Wedderburn of Windygates, usually styled Lady Windygates, her son, young Windygates, and a neighbouring Laird, Wedderburn of Braehead. With some misgiving, Lady Windygates wishes her son to travel as far as Paris for the purpose of putting a polish on his "homely wits." Her searchings of heart at sending her boy—a youth of twenty or thereabouts—from her own keeping and the Shorter Catechism to the seductions of Popery and French manners, are increased by the consciousness that the Laird of Braehead, who is to act as his conductor, is a sad specimen of the Voltairian Scotchman. However, to Paris they go. No great harm comes of it; but a certain French widow lady more or less gets hold of young Allan's

heart, and Braehead hurries him rather suddenly homeward. A terrible accident, in which "French Janet" is involved, and which happens at the very moment they are passing out of the gate of Paris, leaves a deep and morbid impression on the youth's imagination, and when he reaches home, weak and ill, the ghostly presence of the lady haunts every chamber at Windygates. The supernatural element of the story is not very satisfactory. Is Madame Jeannette dead? Are we expected to believe that she really appears in Scotland? Allan's mind is undoubtedly in a morbid state; but she is seen by others—the venerable minister Mr. Hyndford, a young lady visitor, and even, it would seem, on one occasion by the scoffer Braehead himself. The tale goes on to relate how the appearance on the scene of Mistress Maisie Hunter, foredoomed in the providence of the novelist to mate with Allan Wedderburn, exorcises the spirit, and restores the young Laird to sanity and robustness. Old Lady Windygates is admirably sketched—despotic, shrewd, kindly, proud, and narrow. Braehead the sceptic is good, but rather more commonplace. The hero, Allan, has no particular character—in this agreeing with most heroes. Neither, to say the truth, has Mistress Maisie, though the writer evidently wants us to admire her—which we do. Several of the less important people, such as Auntie Peggy, Mr. Hyndford, and the parish clergyman Mr. Brydon, are touched off with the perfect skill always brought by this writer to her Scotch characterizations. The scenes at Paris are also strikingly described, and the colour of the time admirably caught.

The Country Cousin. By FRANCES MARY PEARD. London: R. Bentley & Son. 1889.

WE do not think Miss Peard's artistic gifts expand in proportion to the enlargement of her canvas, and the cameo pictures of her earlier studies have a charm which has evaporated in the wider field of the three volume novel. Her works, however, from her power of conceiving and drawing characters which are natural without being commonplace, must always be above the average of this class, and she has given us in "*The Country Cousin*" an eminently readable and entertaining story. The young lady who plays the title part is a rustic beauty, brought up to make her début during the London season, after an education, the main object of which has been to keep her in ignorance of all the world has in store for her. The reaction caused in her mind and character by the social triumphs of her beauty and freshness after the incessant rebukes and corrections of a well-meaning but injudicious father, is an original and successful study. Sir Henry Lancaster, a young and unmarried Cabinet Minister, falls a helpless victim to her charms, and the latter half of the book is a history of their estrangements and misunderstandings, after a marriage contracted on her side mainly from a desire to escape

from the thralldom of home. The disagreeable surprise to Sir Henry on finding the Arcadian *ingénue* developing into an accomplished worldling is a result for which the reader is thus skilfully prepared. This first transformation of Joan's is, however, to our mind, much more natural than the last, when the dangerous illness of her husband converts the callous and heartless girl into a devoted wife. Habits of levity and frivolity once adopted are not so easily laid aside, and their influence on the character does not tend to prepare it for a sudden reformation.

Philip Mordant's Ward. By MARIANNE KENT. London: Frederick Warne. 1888.

THE plot of this interesting tale turns on the difficulties and embarrassments in which even a harmless concealment may involve those who are parties to it. The heroine's dying mother, in confiding her daughter to the guardianship of her own cousin and former suitor, Philip Mordant, desires that her position as an heiress may be concealed, in order to save her from the fate she has herself experienced in falling a prey to a heartless fortune-hunter. Hence arise a series of complications, beginning with the enmity of one of Philip Mordant's daughters to his ward, and ending in a financial catastrophe in which an absconding clerk makes away with her fortune. With this main theme are bound up various secondary interests, all skilfully interwoven in subordination to the doings of the principal personages, and forming a graceful ensemble of well connected narrative. The characters are drawn with a just perception of individual traits, and that of the heroine is especially sympathetic.

A Little Dutch Maiden. By ERNLE MONEY. London: R. Bentley & Son. 1888.

THE as yet comparatively novel setting of South African life and scenery is here given to a love-story of no ordinary interest. In this age of argumentative fiction, it is refreshing to turn to a tale which deals with the primitive material of romance, instead of with bewildering problems of theology, morality or psychology. The difficulties which thwart the courtship of "Dollie," the "Little Dutch Maiden," by her Anglo-Colonial lover "Jack," are of a very real and material nature, and culminate in thrilling adventures and dangers incident to wild life in a semi-civilized land. The contrast between the refinements of an English home and the wild surroundings of the African wilds amid which it is transplanted, is forcibly brought home to the reader, when he finds the hunting party, after the episodes of camp life on the veldt, return to spend the evening in the company of elegant ladies, attired as they

might be in a London drawing-room. The incidental sketches of Boer and native manners are vivid and lifelike, and the group of stalwart young Englishmen, who play more or less leading parts in the development of the plot, is diversified with skilful gradations of character and conversation.

The Graysons. By EDWARD EGGLESTON. Edinburgh :
David Douglas. 1888.

THIS tale, entitled "A Story of Illinois," gives a vivid impression of the rude life led by settlers on the outskirts of civilization. Tom Grayson and his sister Barbara belong to the farming class, and have a sufficiently hard struggle for existence even before it is complicated by the misfortunes of the former. An unlucky night's gaming, and the quarrels and resentments arising therefrom, form a chain of circumstantial evidence sufficient to bring home to him the charge of the murder of one of his chief antagonists. The dangers he might thus have to run even from the ordinary course of justice are aggravated by the desire of a portion of the community to anticipate its procedure, and to take the law into their own hands, by lynching him without trial. The counter machinations by which Bob McCord, a stalwart Hercules of the border, contrives to defeat these designs, infuses an element of humour into the narration, while it enables the reader to realize the primitive conditions of frontier life. The introduction of the future President, Abraham Lincoln, as the volunteer advocate of the accused man, and his subtle cross-examination of the principal witness against him, form a striking episode in a very interesting tale.

Cressy. By BRET HARTE. London : Macmillan & Co. 1889.

THE picturesque aspects of life on the Hispano-American borderland supply an endless variety of novel and racy episodes to the wizard pen of their most gifted chronicler. Here it is the Arcadian little school-house in the semi-wilderness, amid all the sylvan surroundings of unreclaimed nature, that most powerfully arrests the reader's imagination. The delicate touches which individualize the juvenile scholars and the exquisite pictures into which they fall as they play the part of a sort of chorus to the action of the tale, are in Mr. Bret Harte's best manner, while the figure of Johnny Filgee, the omniscient and ubiquitous *enfant terrible*, plays so important a part that he may almost rank as the hero of the piece. The least satisfactory feature of the latter is the character of Cressy herself, who remains to the last enigmatical in her relations with her numerous suitors, the motive of her successive infidelities to whom is never rendered sufficiently clear. Her father McKinstry, the blood-stained Achilles of the perpetual Iliad of the frontier, is a striking figure strikingly limned in a few broad touches.

An Imperfect Gentleman. By KATHARINE LEE. London: Longmans. 1888.

A VIVACIOUS power of narrative and modern smartness of style carry the reader of this tale successfully through the somewhat humdrum opening chapters, concerned with the fortunes of a bank clerk on a small salary, and domestic life in the shabby-genteel atmosphere of Camden Town. The unexpected inheritance of a title and fortune transports the reader and the characters from these homely surroundings to more brilliant spheres, among which are found the true hero and heroine of the tale. The former, Lord Leaveland, a penniless but high-hearted young nobleman, is the most successful piece of portraiture in the book, and the author has succeeded in making him both lifelike and lovable. With the heroine she has been less fortunate, and her conduct, in not only refusing a man she is devoted to, but in accepting another, as the acme of self-sacrifice, is contrary both to nature and good feeling. Of course, being a heroine, kind destiny intervenes to save her from the consequences of her own wilfulness, and difficulties real and imaginary disappear in time to smooth the way to the usual conclusion. The book will interest Catholic readers all the more that the principal characters belong to that religion, and that its beneficent influence in ruling their motives and actions is strongly put forward. Equally sympathetic, too, is the portrayal of Father Adrian, the priest, the universal counsellor in all perplexities, acting as monitor, despite his youth, in the worldly troubles from which he stands apart.

Toilers of Babylon. By B. L. FARJEON. London: Ward & Downey. 1888.

MR. FARJEON'S narrative power enables him here to make the best of a rather weak and disjointed plot. The hero, disinherited by a millionaire father for a secret marriage, is a feeble creature, in whose subsequent fortunes the reader can scarcely be expected to take a very lively interest, and his wife, though of stronger moral calibre, has less distinctiveness of character to mark her individuality. Then the gap of a whole generation intervening between the opening and the final denouement is not sufficiently bridged by incident or suggested outline to cover so serious a breach in the dramatic unities. The villain of the piece, a scheming and hypocritical nephew, adopted by the hard-hearted father instead of his disinherited heir, then begins for the first time to influence the action, and the same chain of events by which his true character is unmasked leads to a reconciliation between the repentant parent and his virtuous but impecunious son. The opening scenes, in which the heroine and her father are leading a gipsy life in a travelling van, have a pleasant novelty which rather evaporates in the succeeding portions of the book.

In Ole Virginia. By T. N. PAGE. New York : Charles Scribner. 1887.

THE principal stories in this collection of short tales have a singular quaint charm from being told as reminiscences of Southern plantation life, in the characteristic dialect of the negro narrators. The relations between the coloured people and their white masters are touchingly portrayed, the irksome bond of slavery being resolved, as it doubtless was in the great majority of cases, into a tie of fidelity on the one side and kindly protection on the other. The author has the secret of true pathos, conveyed with the simplest means of expression, and his tales of the War are interesting pictures of a great historical crisis now sufficiently remote to be set in the ærial distance of romance.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Canon BELLESHEIM, of Aachen.

1. *Katholik.*

FROM amongst the articles contributed to the January number, I may select for mention a paper on the Centenary of the French Revolution, another on the nature, qualities and effects of prayer, and a third on the solemn opening of the Benedictine Abbey of Maredsous in Belgium. More than mere mention, however, should be given to still another article, written by Professor Pastor, of the University of Innsbruck. It is on the election of Paul II., A.D. 1464, and will soon appear at greater length in the second volume of the author's "History of the Popes." Gathered for the most part from hitherto unpublished documents, the article is of permanent value, and is one well calculated to dissipate not a few of the unfavourable impressions that cling to the name and character of this Pope. Professor Pastor describes at considerable length the conclave, the leading cardinals, and the views which led them to unite in electing a man who, for his generosity, affability, and learning, had won for himself the esteem and love of the Roman people, as well as of foreigners who had experienced his readiness in helping them in dealing with ecclesiastical business. The reader will be rather shocked at the articles of "capitulation" made by the cardinals at the election of the Pope. Fortunately, however, the Pope succeeded in abolishing them, with the consent of the Sacred College, one only,

Cardinal Carvajal, excepted—he vigorously and steadily opposing their abolition. The February number of the *Katholik* contains a paper on “The School Struggle in Belgium from 1878 to 1884.” This is followed by an article on the history of the Breviary from the time of St. Gregory I., and another on Studies in Historical Documents of the Diocese of Treves, by Sauerland. A succinct biographical sketch of Père De Doss, S.J., is well worth reading; it contains reminiscences of a man who was totally devoted to the Christian education of youth, and who rendered signal services thereto by his writings. A concluding article is a review of the “*Philosophische Jahrbuch der Goerres-Gesellschaft*,” now edited by Drs. Gutberlet and Pohle, professors in the episcopal seminary of Fulda, the former of whom is known as the author of a highly appreciated manual of philosophy and a text-book of apology, and the latter as the biographer of Padre Secchi. The articles and reviews in the *Goerres Jahrbuch* are of a high scientific character. In the present volume, Professor Gutberlet writes on “The Aim of Christian Philosophy in our Time,” on “Psychology without Soul,” and on the vexed question of “Proof, or Proofs, of the Existence of God.” Professor Pohle contributes an article on “The infinitely Little as a Philosophical Basis for the Differential Calculus.” Father Costa Rossetti, S.J., examines “The Doctrine of Christian Philosophy as to the Nature of the State.” Dr. Endres writes on “The Life and Doctrine of Alexander of Hales,” dealing chiefly with the great Englishman’s psychology; whilst, finally, the controversy between Vasquez and Suarez on the “Essence of Natural Law” is discussed by Dr. Praxmarer. A valuable feature of the same learned review is the survey of philosophical literature, both German and foreign.

2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

In the January number of the *Blätter* I tried to trace the history of Ninian Winzet, of Linlithgow, as described by Rev. James King Hewison, in his Preface to the recent edition of Winzet’s “*Certain Tractates*.” German ecclesiastical history owes a special debt of gratitude to the Scottish Text Society for having brought out these “*Tractates*,” as they illustrate the life and doctrine of a Scotch priest, who stood forth as a valiant champion of the Catholic Church, and, being an exile for the faith, afterwards rendered signal service to the Catholic cause in Germany, where he departed this life as abbot of the Scotch monastery of Ratishon in 1572. Another article criticizes the “*Evangelische Bund*,” that society which aims at defending German Protestantism by checking the Catholic Church and hampering her influence in the departments of public life. The article points out, at length, to Protestants those quarters where they could exercise a salutary influence on behalf of Christianity: they might, *e.g.*, try to suppress the spirit of negation

and infidelity, ever spreading more and more within the Protestant Church, and endeavour to escape the dangers threatening them from professors of Liberal theology—a theology which apparently is anything except Christian. We recommend the article to those who would know something of the more recent “new departures” in German Protestant theology. Of the remaining articles, we may note those on the Scholastics and how they treated history, and on the Church of Russia, based on the work of Victor Frank, “Testimonies of Russia about Herself;” Vol. I., “Christianity in Russia”—which presents a frightful picture of the decay of the Russian Church calculated to repress the enthusiasm of those who second the idea of an establishment; another on “Catholic Poetry in 1888;” and one on Albert Durer’s great picture of “All Saints.” In the February number attention is attracted by an article on “The Religious Character of the Bavarian Universities;” these once Catholic foundations are now denied recognition as Catholic by the royal tribunals.

3. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

In the January issue Father Lehmkuhl contributes an article on international protection for workmen; Father Duhr continues his articles on the Maid of Orleans, defending the special protection and immediate interference of God on her behalf; the progress of astronomy in this century is described by F. Hagen; and reminiscences of the Brussels Art Exhibiton of 1888 are given by Father Beissel; whilst Father Baumgartner sketches the life and literary work of Leo Tolstoi. In the February number Father von Hoensbroech pleads, from history and Papal letters, for the temporal power of the Vicar of Christ; an exegetical article on the wisdom of our Lord in his teaching is by Father Mechler; and, lastly, Father Langhorst contributes a keenly critical review of Professor Lipsius’ “Theologischer Jahresbericht,” vehemently repelling the attacks therein made on Cardinal Manning’s unwearied labours in missionary work.

4. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie (Innsbruck).*†

First in this number may be mentioned Father Oehry’s article, “On the Number of the Elect,” in which he favours the milder opinion which holds as more probable the eternal salvation of the greatest number of Catholics. An opportune contribution by Father Duhr is headed “The German Jesuits as Historians,” for which we cannot but express our gratitude, recommending it also to English scholars who may seek information as to the great services rendered by the Society of Jesus to German Church History. Father Grisar presents us with a very readable article on “Christian Inscriptions in Rome during the First Period of the Middle Ages,” founded on De Rossi’s

"*Inscriptiones Christianæ Urbis Romæ*" (second volume), which, besides a succinct account of the inscriptions themselves, adds some appropriate remarks on the theology and æsthetical importance of the Roman inscriptions.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica, 17 Novembre, 1888.

Hysteria and Ecstasies.—The school of unbelieving scientists who desire to prove Christian ecstasies to be the result of the malady termed hysteria, which is peculiar to the female sex, wilfully shut their eyes to the fact that the said phenomena have been displayed quite as often, at the least, in men as in women, or they evade this difficulty by maintaining that men possess no immunity from the complaint. In refutation of this hysteria theory, the writer in the *Civiltà Cattolica* makes a really amusing scrutiny of the circumstances attending some of the recorded visions and raptures of New Testament saints, particularly of those of St. Peter and St. Paul. Two amongst the Apostles would be hysterical—the proportion is large; besides, we must rather say three, as the seer of Patmos, St. John the Evangelist, must certainly have been hysterical. Nor may we stop there. The deacons, St. Stephen and St. Philip, the Centurion Cornelius, Ananias of Damascus, not to speak of others, must all have been similarly affected. But this is only the beginning of the dilemma in which the medical rationalists have involved themselves. Even Le Grand de la Saulle, who did not scruple to pronounce a whole band of female saints to have been hysterical, inasmuch as they were ecstatic, must have hesitated to class the three Apostles, and the other Scripture persons just enumerated, under the same head; but what, moreover, of the host of saints canonized by the Church, and the still more numerous body of holy men who have not been raised to her altars, men of all ages, conditions, temperaments, numbers of whom were endowed with extraordinary intellect, both practical and speculative, and in whom manly gifts were conspicuous? All these, at one fell swoop, must be consigned, according to the principle laid down by our scientists, to the category of those affected with the same malady, a malady peculiar to women, or at least most rare in men, if even this concession is to be made, for these supposed exceptional cases are of a very ambiguous character. It suffices to take a glance at the lives of these saints and, in general, of those other men who have been distinguished by the pre-eminent exercise of Christian virtues, to be convinced that it is difficult to find any one amongst them whom God has not favoured with intimate communications in prayer, and who was not, sometimes at least, if not often, raised to the state of ecstasy, and this applies to all, men and women alike, and to the active, no less than to the solitary contemplative.

The dilemma, then, stands thus: either the hysterical origin of ecstasies must be limited to female saints, and then rationalists will have gained nothing by their vaunted discovery, for what avail to have eliminated the supernatural in half the number of cases if it remains intact in the other half? or if all saints, men and women alike, are to be included, and all classed as hysterical, this, apart from any other circumstance, and for the sole reason of their overwhelming number, would constitute so marvellous a novelty as to be admissible solely by the heroic credulity of the incredulous. *Credo quia absurdum.*

But as to the supposed participation of men in liability to hysteria, it must be observed that the limited number of cases which have been collected by no means bear out the argument based upon them. First, as regards the origin of these maladies, it seems, as a general rule, to be some sudden fright, contusion, or shock to the nerves—an observation not applying to the disease in women. The collisions of trains and other accidents connected with the railway, resulting in injury to brain or spine, particularly in the United States of America, have, in the opinion of the medical profession, been the cause of an increase of this malady in men—of a malady, at least, presenting some of the symptoms of hysteria. For we must observe, in the second place, that the symptoms of what receives the general name of hysteria are manifold, and by far the largest proportion make nothing for the question at issue. It is, indeed, exclusively the production of the pseudo-ecstatic state, which the complaint sometimes assumes in women, that can possibly be adduced, with any shadow of plausibility, in defence of the hypothesis put forth, as it is that state alone which admits of being placed in comparison with the raptures and ecstasies of saints. So far as can be judged, these so-called hysterical men have exhibited nothing of this character, however violent may have been their attacks of delirium, or whatever may have been their illusions, the result generally of some sudden terror which has upset the nervous system. If ever, then, there was a clumsy and utterly unreasonable hypothesis devised by rationalists against supernatural phenomena, it is that which pretends to reduce Christian ecstasies to hysterical manifestations.

5 *Gennai*, 1859.

Hypnotism and Ecstasies.—The celebrated physician, Paolo Mantegazza, an unbeliever, if ever there was one, who has written pages, the intolerable shamelessness and turpitude of which has drawn down upon him the censure of the most indulgent in that line, has in a work published not long ago, entitled “Human Ecstasies,” scouted the very idea of classing Christian ecstasies amongst hysterical manifestations. Endowed with a fine sense of the æsthetic, which his revolting Epicureanism has been unable to quench, he passes in review long passages extracted from the “Lives of Saints,”

and especially from the writings of St. Teresa, pointing out the sublimity, the depth, the beauty, and the analytic discrimination which they reveal. He has, in short, nothing but contempt for the maintainers of the hysterical theory. He has one of his own, however, which he expounds in his work. Mantegazza, we must do him the justice to say, is not a gratuitous blasphemer, he does not love polemics, nor does he betray that hatred of the Church, of Christianity, of Gospel morality, and of God Himself so common amongst unbelievers, albeit he regards all these things as chimerical. Accordingly, in his treatise on human ecstasies, he never discusses the point whether Christian ecstasies contain an element of the supernatural. That they do not is implied by him in the very title of his book, where the ecstasies of saints are mixed up indiscriminately with all those miscalled ecstasies which intense human affections produce. He considers that an ecstasy consists in a fixed concentration of thought and affection on one object, instancing the effects of maternal love, friendship, patriotic devotion, the excessive pleasure excited in many by the beauties of nature, and the charms of music, the enchantment of the artist in the contemplation of his own work, and even the satisfaction of the diplomatist in witnessing the success of his schemes. Now, in common parlance, we are certainly in the habit of using the terms of rapture and ecstasy as applied to human sentiments, but it is obvious that it is not in a literal sense, as when we speak of the mystical ecstasies of saints, which have results and exhibit phenomena which the most intense natural feelings utterly fail to evoke. This difficulty does not escape the writer's eye, and so, to account for it, he has his "little ecstasies" and his "great ecstasies." Why the contemplation of God or heavenly things is to entail marvellous results which the closest reflection on human things, however nearly interesting us, never elicits, he does not explain. Well, these *little ecstasies* are, so to say, incipient ones, ecstasies in germ, being, in fact, no ecstasies at all, even according to his own showing, but only the *raw material*, as it were, out of which the great ones are made. Now, as to the nature of the ecstatic state, Mantegazza defines it as hypnotism of thought and affection, more often of the latter. Hypnotism, he says, adopting Le Gros's view, is an artificial sleep, in which some regions of the brain become paralysed, and a sort of mental suspension is produced, save on one point, where a nervous congestion ensues; the accumulated force, however, can be transferred to one or other organ of the senses. The reviewer does not care to discuss this medical explanation of the hypnotic state. These doctors and physiologists will find it, he thinks, a hard matter to explain certain of its phenomena by mere natural laws, such, for instance, as communication at a distance between the hypnotiser and the individual whom he has rendered blindly subject to his will. No forces of nature can explain such things, which are indeed in direct contradiction to its laws. But this is not our immediate concern.

Mantegazza accepts, in a general way, this so-called explanation, as justifying his definition of the state of ecstasy, and the theory with regard to it, at which, after long meditation, he has arrived. He seems to think this theory new, which it is not, rationalists having often attempted to identify the two states—the hypnotic and the ecstatic.

If the comparison of the latter with hysteria is absurd, still more preposterous, if possible, is this assimilation with hypnotism, whether we regard the mode of its production or the phenomena it exhibits. The mental concentration in which hypnotism is said essentially to consist is produced, as all know, by artificial means, passes of the hand, or the gazing intently on some luminous object; it does not occur spontaneously. Now, as St. Teresa and other ecstatic saints were never subjected to such means, how is this difficulty met by Mantegazza? He says that the saint herself fixed and concentrated her thought in one sole contemplation and one affection, but this is simply to say, according to the definition of ecstasy which he has adopted, that she is ecstatic because she is ecstatic. Positive science affirms that hypnotism is a state, the production of which is connected with the use of certain physical means, inexplicable as to their mode of action, but always necessary. As these means are not adopted in the case of Christian ecstasies, positive science, for this reason alone, must deny the confusion of two classes of phenomena, when for the second no cause is adduced equivalent to what is laid down as the origin of the former. Mantegazza cannot indicate any such cause.

The writer draws out a short parallel of the leading characteristic phenomena which the two states exhibit, to which we must refer our readers. It is sufficient to place these two descriptions side by side to form an opinion as to the utter dissimilarity between them. We must note one observation which he makes on this point. It is true that at the command of a man—that is, an ecclesiastical superior—we may see an ecstatic return from her state, but this is in virtue of an act of obedience imposed on her to resist her exaltation as far as she can, but no priest, director, or superior of any kind has the power to raise a person to that state, or influence it in any way, so that there is no resemblance to be discovered here between the hypnotiser's power over the hypnotised and that of the ecclesiastical superior over the ecstatic.

The Shepherd Kings.—The series of learned articles on the Hyksôs or Shepherd Kings of Egypt is continued. It is, indeed, only the learned in Egyptian antiquities and the ancient languages of the East who can adequately follow them. Nevertheless, the general reader, to whom much will remain a sealed book, may gather some valuable suggestions, as, for instance, in the article which appeared on January 5, containing a discussion as to the precise meaning of Genesis xlv. 34, where it is said that "the Egyptians have all shepherds in abomination," an assertion also made by Herodotus. Yet it is clear that the Egyptians themselves possessed

flocks, as sheep are enumerated amongst the animals which they brought to Joseph in exchange for bread in the days of famine. Pharaoh himself had large flocks, as we find him telling Joseph that if there were industrious men amongst his brethren he would make them rulers over them. In fact, if the Egyptians had sheep, they must have had shepherds; the occupation could not, therefore, have been in itself an abomination to them. A probable solution may be found in the fact that it was not the occupation of tending sheep which was hateful to the Egyptians, but those who were shepherds by race and profession, as were the nomad tribes from whose incursions they had so grievously suffered. Lenormant, indeed, distinguishes between shepherds who were natives of the country, inhabited the villages, and tended the flocks in the interior, and the wandering shepherds scattered over the frontiers. This antipathy, which came down from the most ancient times, and always existed in the East between the settled inhabitants and the nomads, or Bedouins as we should say, was extended in Egypt even to the foreign tribes which had established themselves in the marshy and fertile lands of the Delta. Bunsen, commenting on Genesis xlv. 34, says that Goshen (Gessen) was a border country, and its character more Arabian than Egyptian. There the children of Israel would not, by their exotic mode of life, have given offence to the inhabitants. Fertile as was the land, the native Egyptians had left it almost uncultivated and unoccupied, but Joseph, of course, knew well its rich capabilities as pasture land. We have now the clue to the meaning of what he directed his brethren to say to Pharaoh when asked what was their occupation: "You shall answer, We, thy servants, are shepherds, from our infancy until now, both we and our fathers"; in short, shepherds by race, the very class the Egyptians hated. "And this you shall say that you may dwell in the land of Gessen, because the Egyptians have all shepherds in abomination." This last clause some believe to have been a marginal gloss, transferred afterwards to the text in the way of explanation. Be this as it may, the connection is clear, and the two statements offer no contradiction—viz., the request and the grant of the good land of Gessen, and the national antipathy to the race of shepherds; on the contrary, they mutually throw light upon each other. Gessen, as Chabas observes, was on the limits of Egypt and the desert, and it was there Joseph went to receive his father coming from Hebron. Consequently, this territory was, of all Egypt, the most exposed to the passage of the enemy and predatory inroads. At all times, succeeding generations of nomad pastors, under varying names, had come from the peninsula of Sinai, from Arabia, and from Syria, to prey upon and devastate it. No wonder it remained untilled, but, being well watered, it formed excellent grazing ground, where the Pharaohs kept numerous flocks. The Hyksôs, the name by which the Shepherd Kings, who reigned for a long period in Egypt, are known in history, are believed by the writer in the *Civiltà Cattolica* to have been lords of the country in Joseph's time, and this view is incidentally confirmed by the fact that the very

circumstance of their origin, which would have rendered Joseph's brethren distasteful to the native Egyptians, appears to have formed matter of recommendation to the reigning Pharaoh.

BELGIAN.

Dietsche Warande: Tijdschrift voor Kunst en Zedegeschiedenis.
Tweede Jaargang, No. I. 1889.

We must congratulate the editors of the *Dietsche Warande* on the completion of the first and the beginning of the second year of their periodical, or, to speak more accurately, of this new series of it. The success has exceeded the promise, and we think the review is improving as time goes on. English readers will find several things to interest them in the present number. H. Van Kerkhoff begins an essay on "Vondel and Milton," which is really a *résumé* of Mr. Edmundson's book on the same subject, and gives Vondel the credit, not only of "Paradise Lost," but also of "Samson Agonistes." There are a couple of papers on Flemish antiquities, and a study of Berlioz, the latter by the editor, Professor Alberdingk Thijm. But we have come across more points of interest in a paper on "The School of St. Willibrord in the Abbey of Echternach," by A. Reiners. This is based on an examination of the valuable collection of MSS. of that ancient abbey, which were deported to Paris in 1795, and have never been restored. Many of them date back to the great English missionary himself, or are of English origin. It was in A.D. 698 that the illustrious Yorkshirer, the "Apostle of the Frisians," established his famous abbey at Epternacum (in the modern Grand Duchy of Luxemburg), on land given by Pippin and his daughter Irmina. Willibrord made Echternach a centre of study and learning. He himself wrote out numerous MSS. for his schools. One very interesting fact we come across in these notes—viz., that among the pilgrims to the tomb of St. Willibrord, at Echternach, was our last Saxon archbishop, Stigand, "*Anglorum archipraesul eximius*," though we are not told in what year. Many other Englishmen were here. Beonrod was third abbot, 775–795. Alcuin often stayed at Echternach, and wrote there (*e.g.*, in 782). St. Willehad (782) took refuge there, when expelled from Bremen by the Saxons. Nearly all these men have left MSS. in the abbey library. Among the works now in Paris, two MSS., a martyrology and a calendar (Bibl. Nat. 10,837), are in the handwriting of St. Willibrord himself, written respectively in 720 and 684 (the latter at Ripon). Others are of his time, or not much later. Of other books in the collection, No. 8912 is of great interest, as it contains a notice of the celebrated "dancing procession" on Whit Tuesday, and was written before 1083. The abbey school at Echternach, founded by St. Willibrord, flourished through all the middle ages, and was known as the "Pearl of the (Benedictine) Order," "The Flower of the Rule," &c.

L. C. C.

Notices of Books.

On Truth; A Systematic Inquiry. By ST. GEORGE MIVART, Ph.D.,
M.D., F.R.S. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1839.

THIS substantial volume of nearly 600 pages ought to be approached with a sympathetic appreciation of the earnest intentions which have inspired it, and the many days of hard work which it has required. Dr. Mivart, moreover, is here at his best. His strong grasp of common-sense philosophy, his complete acquaintance with biology, and his serious and pleasing style of writing are eminently conspicuous in this book. The best service we can render to our readers is to give a description of its contents.

It should be said, at the outset, that there is little of controversy in the work, and (more especially) a complete absence of controversial writing on those subjects in which Dr. Mivart and some other Catholic writers have not been completely in accord. He disclaims controversy. He calls his volume a contribution towards "the building up of a solid temple of truth." To carry out his purpose, he has here endeavoured to prove that we do know something, and that we have a fair knowledge of many most important matters. He begins from the very beginning. Are we sure that we exist, and that the outward world exists? Are there any ultimate and necessary truths? and what are they? Are we right in thinking we have free-will and the power of choice? On these points Dr. Mivart has spoken before. But we have them here treated on a larger canvas, and with a fuller consideration of objections. For example, the idealism of Berkeley, and also that of J. S. Mill, are each carefully discussed, and shown to be unreasonable. It is something of a novelty to read his elaborate contention that this modern idealism is inconsistent, not merely with common-sense, but with physical science. But he does not stop when he has shown that idealism and science are in conflict. He goes on to explain, in chapter ix., what amount of truth there is in the idealist position, and at what point it ceases to be true. The idealist is perfectly right in saying that we know no external thing except through our sensations, and that we cannot imagine anything except in terms derived from sensation. But sound philosophy goes further. We must admit that there is a power in man which, with the aid of sensation and imagination, can both perceive and conceive of things that never were, and never can be, either felt or imagined. This Dr. Mivart calls the "key of the position." The succeeding chapter is devoted to answering objections (chapter x.)—objections derived from the alleged impossibility of our having any knowledge of what are called the "secondary" qualities

of bodies; from the confusion between a "vague portrait" and an abstract idea; from colours and sounds, and from the possibility of our faculties deceiving us. All this leads to the strengthening and enlarging his great thesis—that we have a higher power than sense, which is equally to be trusted, and which discovers a higher world to our knowledge.

In chapter xii., Dr. Mivart, having stated his view that truth consists in an accurate correspondence between thought and things external, passes on to dissect thought and mental activity. He begins by a somewhat elaborate biological exposition of the structure of the body, followed by a chapter (xiii.) on the "Activities of the Body," including the brain, the nerves, reflex action, heredity, development, habit, &c. These two chapters will be found useful by all students of mental science and of theology, as they present in brief what it would take a long time to master in ordinary manuals. Our author next proceeds to describe what he calls the lower mental powers. Here we have a great number of subjects treated in accurate modern phraseology, such as consentience (that is, the fact that all sensations have somehow one sensorium, even apart from consciousness), instinct, association of images, sensuous memory, co-ordination of feelings, and many others. An interesting list of such powers is given at the end of this chapter, in which are enumerated no less than thirty-three.

The treatment of the higher mental powers comes next. After insisting, as he does everywhere in the book, on the importance of the distinction between the higher and the lower, he discusses perception, being, the universal, judgment, attention, intellectual memory, reasoning, and will; and he ends, as before, with a catalogue, in which thirteen powers are mentioned. It need not be said that, for Dr. Mivart's purpose, it is unnecessary to decide whether, ontologically, these thirteen activities of the mind are different powers or only diverse modes of the action of one or of two powers.

A chapter on language (xvi.) is excellent, and chiefly for the convincing proof which it contains that language is, and must be, the consequence of rational thought, and cannot have produced it.

There will be some readers who will not follow Dr. Mivart wholly in his analysis of the ideas of truth, goodness, and beauty. There can be little, however, to object to in his description of truth as a general relation of conformity. But mere conformity is not truth, as he well shows; truth starts from the conception of a mind and leads to the idea of a mind: the mind, in the first instance, being the image of things; in the second, the standard of things—that is, God. As to goodness—which he takes to be exclusively our ethical judgment as to right and wrong—the treatment is necessarily slight. No doubt it is true to say that our perception of "goodness" is the perception of something ultimate, and not dependent even on the will of the Divine Being. But it should always be said, in the same breath, that the will of God is identical with what our conscience or

judgment (rightly informed) dictates to us. There is no need of approving or admiring J. S. Mill's startling declaration, so often quoted. The idea of an evil or immoral God is as opposed to reason as the idea of man's mind being justified in rejecting what is good. Indeed, since man's conscience is so often degraded, distorted, and falsified, it would be in a sense more true to say that man should sometimes rather act against his conscience than against God's will—in this sense, that if his "conscience" is found to dictate what is contrary to God's ordinance, he may justly form the "reflex" conscience that his own "conscience" must be wrong. But Dr. Mivart's treatment of beauty is surely inadequate. "Everything has beauty!" So it has—but an ugly thing is not beautiful in the same sense as a beautiful thing. It has always been a difficulty to divide the idea of the beautiful between sense and reason. But the attempt ought to be made.

After a vigorous proof of the freedom of the will, Dr. Mivart passes on to the study of man in general—the study of ourselves, not in the individual, but in the race. This is very admirable, and will prove most useful. Men are shown to be all of one race, and all to have the same intellectual nature. Objections from the inferiority of savage races, from ethical and religious points of view, from language and from art, are all successfully treated, with a wide knowledge of scientific facts and of recent investigations. Then we have a study of the external world. Dr. Mivart unhesitatingly rejects the mechanical theory, the atomic theory, the nebular theory—in short, every view of nature, organic or inorganic, which does not allow the existence of an indeterminate matter and an individuating form. He devotes 150 clear and pregnant pages to his theory of the universe. It is little to say that it is the best attempt which has yet appeared to bring back the scholastic conception of the composition of things. Though not a treatise on chemistry or biology, this section uses in every paragraph *data* or views furnished by physical science. It is this accurate acquaintance with what physicists hold and talk about that gives him his strong position as a Catholic philosopher. We are not at this moment prepared to say that his conception of "*materia prima*" is quite the same as that of the school. But there can be no doubt that his scientific exposition of the difficulties and inconsistencies which on every side meet the believer in "atoms" or in "motion" is just the thing which Catholic philosophers wanted, and ought to give a most powerful impulse to the movement in favour of Thomistic views. Dr. Mivart's carefully drawn out argument lends itself with difficulty to quotation, or we should be strongly tempted to place before the reader such a passage as that in pages 428 *sqq.*, in which he makes a brilliant use of his exhaustive knowledge of anatomy and pathology in support of his contention, that in every animal there must be an internal, immanent and immaterial principle. The student will, moreover, discover, as he reads, that some of the most eminent of modern teachers, English, French and German, unite in expressing their

conviction of the insufficiency of mere mechanism to account for the phenomena whether of the organic or the inorganic world; and the crude atomic philosophy of Professor Huxley—who is quoted without his name being openly mentioned—sounds all the more empty and pompous from the lofty rhetoric in which it is expressed.

But, as was perhaps to be expected, Dr. Mivart's chapter on "Evolution" is perhaps the most masterly in the book. He has been well known for nearly twenty years as one of Mr. Darwin's most formidable antagonists; an antagonist who, while giving that great observer all credit for his contributions to the history of Nature, has consistently pointed out that the denial of design and purpose in nature to which Darwinism leads, neither is proved by Darwin's facts, nor can be reconciled with facts which Darwin has left unnoticed. The essence and effect of the "Genesis of Species" are given by Mr. Mivart in chapter xxvii.; species, he shows, are evolved by the nature—that is, by the principle of individuation—of organisms, which has *definite* tendencies to variation, and the action of which is partly stimulated and partly restrained by the action of surrounding agencies (p. 527). As to the origin of man's body, what he says may be quoted:—

Let us assume, for argument's sake, that man was suddenly created in his entirety, body and soul, as we see him now. If a rational animal was destined to exist at all, he must have been made to resemble *some* other animal, and he must have been provided with means for expressing his thoughts by external signs with great rapidity. Such a being could hardly have been formed on the type of any of the inferior sub-kingdoms or classes of the animated world, and thus he must have accorded with mammalian structure as he does accord. But surely the members of no order of that class have a body nearly so well-organized to serve the purposes and perform the actions demanded by a rational nature as have the apes. It would seem, then, that almost as soon as ever an animal form had been evolved, well adapted to serve as the corporeal frame of a truly intellectual being, man suddenly—as it were, abruptly—appeared.

Such would seem to have been the fact, because the difference which we find between the human form, and that of his nearest corporeal allies amongst brutes, is quite trifling to that which exists between the latter and creatures of other orders of the class mammalia, to which we and all beasts belong. Nevertheless, the instantaneous, absolute creation of man's body is the more startling hypothesis, though the difficulty of accepting it is greatly due to the tyranny of the imagination. Such a process must, of course, be absolutely imperceptible to our senses. Were a man like ourselves freshly created beside us at this moment, all we could perceive would be that there was a man where before we saw no one, and all we could do would be to wonder or inquire whence he might have come. Speculation, therefore, as to this enigma is useless. (P. 528.)

The chapter on the First Cause is remarkable for three things—first, an excellent and convincing proof of the existence of a first cause, drawn from motion in its wider sense; secondly, the great accuracy of the theological and philosophical language—as, for example, when the author explains the analogical nature of our con-

ception of the Divine attributes; and, thirdly, the exhaustive list of objections to God's existence, commonly met with in our higher literature, and here very adequately set forth and refuted.

After a useful summing up of the points which he conceives he has established in this book, Dr. Mivart concludes the volume with the following words:—

The answer to our inquiry as to Truth may, then, be most briefly expressed as follows:—truth is a relation between our thoughts and things external, which relation reposes on the correspondence of created things to the intellect of their Creator, in whose image and likeness reason shows us that our own intelligence has been made, and by whose overruling providence the whole material universe was originally created, and has since been gradually and harmoniously evolved. Thus we have naturally revealed to us the supreme fact of God's existence, and a hierarchy of duties, the right fulfilment of which should be the aim of every human existence. The ultimate judgment and precept of an intellect devoted both to science and to goodness is well expressed by those solemn words with which, for so many centuries, the noblest edifices ever raised by man have annually resounded: *Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum. Venite adoremus.* (Pp. 531, 532.)

These are noble words, and worthy of a Catholic philosopher whose life-long labour it has been to show the intelligence of the age that religion is not only not antagonistic to science, but that the best science proves and postulates religion. This work, even if it has by no means said the last word on any of the matters therein treated, will be welcomed by all intelligent Catholics, and, we may hope, by a large section of the non-Catholic community, as a most successful attempt to establish on a firm basis of natural reason that religious truth, both natural and supernatural, which is man's best and worthiest inheritance, and which is here only hinted at. One admirable feature of the book is its lucid order and clearness. Divisions, headings, marginal notes, summaries, recapitulations and cross-references—all these abound, and there is a most complete and careful verbal index of nearly fifty pages.

Records of the English Catholics of 1715. Compiled wholly from Original Documents. Edited by JOHN ORLEBAR PAYNE, M.A. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Payne has no longer the valuable assistance of the late Canon Estcourt in his useful and most interesting antiquarian labours, yet the present volume, which is well printed and bound, is full of new and acceptable information. It consists of two parts. The first part is a series of extracts from about 400 wills, all relating to English Catholics who were in some way concerned in the rising in 1715 or its consequences. The second is a selection from the "Forfeited Estates Papers" at the Public Record Office, from which many extracts were given in a former book of Mr. Payne's, "English Catholic Nonjurors of 1715." In the pages

of the present work nearly every Catholic name with which we are familiar occurs, and information is given which is new, and necessary for the future historian or biographer. It is, indeed, sad to see that there are great names in this record which are Catholic no longer—Molyneux, Montague, Bellasis (Fauconberg), Baskerville, Atwood, Wakeman, &c. And there are names which have disappeared from their pre-eminence, but only because their inheritors preferred worldly loss to the denial of their faith, such as Radcliffe (Derwent-water) and Widdrington of Northumberland. There are numerous quaint and amusing passages in these wills of our sorely trammelled forefathers. Once or twice they leave money for purposes "which my son knows I would have" wished. The "room where I and my family go to say our prayers" is a periphrasis of that good Catholic William Plowden (of Plowden), when he gives directions to divide the furniture of his domestic chapel. One or two desire to be buried "in the night-time;" this seems to have been especially the custom when a Catholic was buried in a Protestant church. Michael Blount, of Maple-Durham (1730), with a fine English sense of what is good enough for monks and nuns, leave £500 instead of £2000 to either of his daughters who shall become a religious, and £500 instead of £1000 to any of his sons who shall be similarly professed. Henry Fermor, of Tusmore (co. Oxon), makes a similar provision; but if any of his children becomes religious after the age of thirty, such child is to have the full £2000. Others revoke legacies to children who have become religious. Many testators leave money for the poor; one Norwich man orders £120 to be invested in perpetuity for the poor Catholics of that city. Mrs. Lettis Wyborne, a kind-hearted widow, leaves £50 to be distributed among the priests in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk—they would know what for. The extracts from the "Forfeited Estates Papers" are very generally denunciations made to the Royal Commissioners charged with "liquidating" the estates of Catholics condemned to forfeiture for their share in the '15. The informers usually wind up by claiming a share in the spoil, and display disgusting meanness. A certain William Gregson, of Barton (Preston) has seen "a Room above stairs, which had forms and conveniencys in it," and which he is sure is a chapel. Lord Molyneux has a deposition made against him by his gardener. Another of Lord Molyneux's servants sends "a small present of brandy," and wants to know whether he is not entitled to a third of his Lordship's estate as a discoverer. A female servant of Mr. Riddeil's, apparently in charge of Long Horsley Castle, hastens to send up a list of the furniture, and clamours for a share of the proceeds. There is a great deal that is interesting about the state of Catholicism in Preston at this time. An apostate priest, Richard Hitchmough, appears frequently in the latter half of the book. At pp. 126-7 there is a curious list, supplied by him, of moneys paid from various colleges, religious houses, and ecclesiastical purposes. One or two very graphic scenes occur in connection with preparations for the rising of 1715, such

as the description of the doings at Stonyhurst in Sir Nicholas Sherburne's kitchen, and the looting of a horse at Rothbury. But enough has been said to show what there is in the work, and to recommend it to English Catholics, especially to those who bear an ancient name.

"Manuals of Catholic Philosophy." (Stonyhurst Series.)—*Logic.* By RICHARD F. CLARKE, S.J. *The First Principles of Knowledge.* By JOHN RICKABY, S.J. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1888-9.

IN the October number of this REVIEW was noticed the first instalment of the series which the Stonyhurst Fathers have promised, under the title of *"Manuals of Catholic Philosophy."* We have now before us the second and third volume of that series. The two books really treat two parts of one great science—logic. Father Clarke gives the reader what may be called *"Pure Logic,"* and Father John Rickaby supplies *"Logic, Material, Critical, or Applied."* The *"Logic"* of Father Clarke is a most successful attempt to write a scholastic treatise in good English. It has been the misfortune of Catholic students in this country that the accessible treatises have been either in Latin or in very indifferent English. A scholar, a master of literary expression, and a thoroughly trained scholastic, Father Clarke was just the man to supply a real want. His *"Logic"* goes over the old familiar lines. We have the definition of logic, with the well-worn discussion as to whether it is science or an art; we have simple apprehension, judgment and reasoning, and, lastly, we have fallacies, with an appendix on the scholastic *"Method."* But the book is far from being a mere catechism or compendium; it abounds in novel treatment and in living discussion. Father Clarke's style is easy and plain, if perhaps a little diffuse. It is clearly intended, not merely for the easily satisfied Church student, who will swallow a barbarism (and assimilate it) as part of his day's work. The writer has in view the general reader, including those *"women of cultivated tastes,"* as to whom he is quite justified in saying that it is an undoubted gain to the cause of truth that they should be trained to think correctly. As regards Protestants and converts, Father Clarke has the following excellent remarks:—

Many a Protestant student, perplexed and bewildered by the rival claims of half a dozen different systems, each at variance with the rest, and often also at variance with itself as well, is inclined to give up the search for truth in despair, and to fall back upon the Hamiltonian doctrine of the relativity of knowledge, or, in other words, on the non-existence of truth at all. Such a one often craves in his heart after some leader on whom he can rely, some one who represents, not the newly fangled inventions of the individual, but the traditional authority of centuries. He would fain know whether amid Catholic philosophers there is the same discord and the same contradiction as among Protestants, and would eagerly drink in the teaching of one who

speaks, not in his own name, or that of some modern theorizer, but in the name of the men of genius who gave themselves to the study of logic from the days of Aristotle till the unhappy period when the old learning was discarded with contempt by the ignorance of the Reformers. To any such inquirer this text-book offers the ordinary Catholic teaching, grounded on Aristotle, and set forth by St. Thomas of Aquin, which flourishes as vigorously as ever in every centre of higher Catholic education. If there is any departure from the doctrines of St. Thomas in these pages, it is there without the knowledge of their writer, whose object it has been to follow throughout in the footsteps of the angelic doctor.

There is another class to whom such a text-book as this will be a real boon, to whose existence the writer can testify from personal experience. Converts to the Catholic Church, trained in the English colleges and universities, have unconsciously drunk in a number of principles, some true, some false, from their earliest years, and are often not a little puzzled to discern the true from the false. Perhaps, in their early days, Hamilton and Jevons, Mansel or Veitch, had represented to them the orthodox school, and Mill and Spencer and Hegel a more consistent and, at the same time, more sceptical system. On submission to the Church, they would fain know how far these rival claimants possess any fragments, large or small, of solid truth, and where they each and all wander away into error. In the following pages this need has been kept in view, and the author has sought to write what would have been useful to himself twenty years ago, when he made unsuccessful endeavours to master by private study the principles of Catholic philosophy from inscrutable Latin text-books. (Pp. xiii.-xv.)

There is, to some extent, a certain overlapping in the two books at the head of this notice. This may, perhaps, have been inevitable. If Father Clarke had to treat of simple apprehension he was obliged to treat of the universal, of realism, idealism, conceptualism, nominalism. If Father Rickaby had to treat of the objectivity of ideas he could not help going over the same ground. It might, perhaps, have been better if Father Clarke had given more space to the commoner and more useful aspects of the art of logic. Terms and their different kinds; the logical analysis of sentences; and a practical treatment of induction as applied to mathematics and science, and as used in literature—these are subjects that are looked for in practical logic. On the other hand, the principles which lie at the foundation of logic, together with the proof of the reality of the external universe and the exhaustive treatment of the “universal,” might have been left, by arrangement, to Father Rickaby, who has actually much to say on all these matters.

Father Rickaby’s “First Principles of Knowledge” treats of certitude, scepticism, the criterion of truth, the trustworthiness of the senses, the objectivity of ideas, and faith, human and divine. His style of writing seems not quite so good as Father Clarke’s. He is too literary, too “allusive” (if a word may be coined), and too fond of dragging in the names and opinions of every one who has ever been wrong. A constructive treatise should largely ignore adversaries; or if heterodox theories are cited, they ought to be representative and typical ones. But this said, it should be added that this book is singularly able and full as a vindication of sound realism and objective knowledge. There are passages which, in our

opinion, are distinctly original; as, for example, the proof of the trustworthiness of the senses derived from the "existence of other men" (pp. 275 *sqq.*); but everywhere Father Rickaby argues with a firmness of grasp and a clearness of exposition which make the book a most valuable acquisition to English Catholic philosophy. Some readers may even find that the liveliness of his language is a distinct recommendation, and some may be helped in their efforts at abstraction by his quoting from a comic song. Tastes differ, and we are the last to dogmatise in that sphere. We prefer Father Clarke's treatment; although even he sometimes exposes himself to the charge of using what Jevons called "the puerile examples too often found in works on logic." And we may observe, in taking leave of him, that he can congratulate himself on having made a first-class bull, when he says "the invisible world disappears from view." (*Logic*, 149.)

Garcia Moreno, President of Ecuador, 1821-1871. From the French of the Rev. P. A. BERTHE, C.S.S.R. By Lady HERBERT. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

LADY HERBERT has been merciful to the English reader in preparing this version of the *Life of Garcia Moreno*. She has abridged Père Berthe's somewhat rhetorical volume of over 800 octavo pages to a more moderate compass, and here gives a complete narrative of the life in a handy volume of 330 pages. We would not be thought to speak disrespectfully of Père Berthe's French original; it is a biography of singular excellence, and his enthusiasm for his hero is amply justified by facts: but for the ordinary English reader, who would recoil from so large a volume, Lady Herbert has given as much as is needful to convey a sufficient impression; those who, from reading this much, may wish to read more, will probably be able to pursue the original. Both the one class of readers and the other will be grateful to her for introducing them to the career of a man who united in himself in so singularly eminent a degree nature's gift of genius, loyal devotion to the Catholic Church, and very high scientific acquirements. And the lesson which the record of his life teaches is enhanced by the manner of its delivery; it comes to us from one of those South American republics about which in England so little is definitely known, and it is embodied in a series of adventurous incidents that sound far more like mediæval than modern story. It is true that we have cannon and shot on the battlefield, but for the rest all is primeval; no telegrams, no railroads, and even no country roads. In these surroundings Garcia Moreno becomes the "pater patriæ" of his beloved Ecuador, lifts it out of the chaos of revolution into which the Freemasonry of Spanish America had dragged it, fights with unconquerable obstinacy against the machinations and treachery of the revolutionists, stoutly goes in the teeth of the even more difficult opposition of what is out there called "Liberal" Catholicism, and at last establishes a Catholic Government in a Catholic land, and, having won peace, becomes what few great

generals have become, a great legislator—even carrying his beneficence, with a Napoleonic insight into the conditions of revolution, down to the construction through Ecuador of a system of roads that are a monument to his memory in general and in particular to his own wonderful engineering skill. The biography contains more varied elements of interest than usually fall into the compass of one life—there is the life of the man as a student; his loving domestic life; his religious life, and his powerful efforts both to suppress clerical abuses and looseness of morals and to build up to edification by importing from Europe living and energetic institutions, the Jesuits to teach, and numerous orders of Sisters to serve the hospitals; there is his career at the head of the army; the record of his wonderful political manifestoes—electrical in their effect; and there is even the element of romance which only sea adventure can afford. Some treacherous revolutionists, having murdered the captain and seized the only ship of war which Ecuador could boast of, seek refuge on board it, and believe themselves beyond the possibility of being followed. And so it would seem to ordinary minds. But Moreno procures, at a fabulous price, an English ship just arrived, has the machinery mended, soldiers standing over the workmen with orders to shoot them if they refused to work, and, with the rapidity of fiction, started after the filibusters before these had begun to dream of their danger, attacked their larger ship dauntlessly, and with the celerity and certainty of genius. “The Fight of Zambeli,” as the chapter is headed which records this, is second in wildly romantic interest only to another which records a great land fight and siege, of almost fabulous heroism, “The Taking of Guayaquil.” Of course, to the Catholic, incomparably more interest attaches to the struggle of Garcia Moreno against the enemies of religion, and his efforts to legislate as a Catholic statesman—not the Catholic statesman, be it observed, of tolerance and mutual concession, but the statesman of a Catholic nation and the interpreter into the life of that nation of Catholic ideals. But we have quoted the man of battles on sea and land because, to our mind, here is indicated the leading quality of Moreno in his legislative efforts—force; his was the genius of irresistible energy and determination. His physique and temperament lent themselves to this. Few men could have done without sleep for days together, living in the saddle and hurrying from end to end of Ecuador (without made roads) as he did without being much, if any, the worse for it. Further proof of this may be derived from the chapter, one of the most interesting in the book, headed “The Man,” where also may be gleaned a good idea of how he was penetrated with the spirit of Catholic teaching and practice. When he was beginning life as a young lawyer at Quito, he found that the “evenings out” in the houses of friends were a frivolity, and a tax on time he could not spare from study, and he proceeded at once to cure himself thus heroically:—

He had himself shaved like a monk, and then shut himself up for six weeks without giving a sign of life to any human being.

The man who thus conquered his own bad habits (and this incident is companioned by several similar ones through his life) attacked the great enemy of religion out there, "the Sect," with a determination that was unbending, irresistible. In time, however, treachery had its way, and he was assassinated as he came out of the Cathedral from a passing visit to the Blessed Sacrament. "Dios no muere" had been the motto of his life, and were the last words from his dying lips. When Pius IX. heard of his death, he said: "Il est tombé victime, le chevalier du Christ." "Knight of Christ" is truly the character of this wonderful and many-sided man. The Congress of Ecuador issued a manifesto in his honour, and called him "The regenerator of his country and the martyr of Catholic Civilization." And Leo XIII., a year or two ago, called "the illustrious Garcia Moreno" "a man who was the champion of the Catholic faith, to whom may be justly applied the words made use of by the Church to celebrate the memory of the holy martyrs St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Stanislaus of Poland: *Pro Ecclesia gladiis impiorum occubuit*." We have to thank Lady Herbert for an interesting book, and for a valuable chapter in the history of the struggle of Catholic ideals with modern revolutionism. Her preface gives a brief reply to a question which she says has been frequently asked of her: "Where is Ecuador?" and adds a few useful details as to the history of the republic.

Galileo and His Judges. By F. R. WEGG-PROSSER. London: Chapman & Hall. 1889.

WE are grateful for this able and useful work. A recent article in the *Nineteenth Century*, written in a somewhat harsh and bitter spirit, drew the attention of the public once more to the oft-repeated difficulty of Galileo's condemnation, but with no better result than throwing more dust into people's eyes. Though that article was not allowed to pass without an able answer, yet Mr. Wegg-Prosser, in a spirit of devotedness, has undertaken a fuller treatment of the subject, and, we may safely say, he has given us a book of marked value and utility. The author's style is simple and clear, and the work has an attractive interest. The two main points treated of in connection with Galileo himself, are his condemnation by the Congregation of the Index, and his treatment by the Inquisition. Mr. Wegg-Prosser shows that the sentence passed by the Congregation of the Index on Galileo's teaching was only *disciplinary*, and could in no way compromise the Infallibility of the Pope. This is brought out with sufficient clearness and cogency to convince the unprejudiced reader. With regard to the supposed harsh treatment of Galileo by the Inquisition, our author disposes of this objection very satisfactorily.

Mr. Wegg-Prosser seems scarcely to think that the condemnation was in itself a wise and enlightened measure. It was excusable, he thinks, on account of want of scientific knowledge. But, in reality,

was it not, after all, a wise condemnation? It may be maintained that there was nothing else to be done by those representing a Church which is the careful guardian of the faith of its children, not only of the educated, but of the uneducated and the weak. Galileo's theory was condemned as being against Scripture, not absolutely, but in the commonly accepted sense of that period. Here was a theory new to the multitude, not demonstrated, quite opposed to Scripture as then understood, and, therefore, a cause of scandal to the great mass of the Church's children. Could anything else be done but condemn it for the time? As a provisional measure, it was wise. It may be maintained boldly that it was no mistake in any sense.

In a note at p. 130, Mr. Wegg-Prosser speaks of St. Augustine's theory of "the actual creation" being "the work of one moment." He is not quite accurate here. St. Augustine maintained that all things were created by one act, either in their actual perfection or in their seminal ratios. Many creatures, therefore, in the actual creation—i.e., as it is now, only existed in their germs at first.

Again, is our author quite accurate in saying that, on the authority of men of undoubted orthodoxy, the evolution of man from some lower animal, so far as his *body* only is concerned, is consistent with the Christian faith? It is not, perhaps, against faith so far as to be *heretical*. But, is it *consistent* with Catholic faith, in the proper sense of the word? The Bishop of Newport and Menevia, whom our author quotes with approval as "a theologian and a man of scientific knowledge," after summing up the "traditio Patrum" on the formation of Adam's body by the immediate act of God, says: "All these reasons combined would make it, we are inclined to think, at least rash and dangerous to deny that the body of Adam was formed immediately by God, and quasi-instantaneously out of the earth." (DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1871, p. 22.)

But, passing by these minor points, which do not concern the subject matter of the book, we heartily welcome this valuable contribution to the Galileo controversy. We can recommend Mr. Wegg-Prosser's book as a careful, able, and trustworthy study on this much controverted subject. It is written, moreover, in the best Catholic spirit.

Post-Graduate Course of Lectures (in abstract). St. Louis University.
1884-1887.

THE great difficulty which students who attend lectures have to contend with is, commonly speaking, to commit to memory and retain the chief points without burdening themselves with too elaborate details. The post-graduate students of St. Louis University have to thank the Jesuit Fathers for enabling them, by the publication of "abstracts" or outlines of the lectures, to overcome this difficulty. Here we have the pith of a valuable series of lectures delivered on Anthropology, Biology, Psychology, and Evolution.

Under the title of the "Transformation of Species," the assumptions in favour of Evolution are contrasted with the presumptions against it. Under Anthropology, the union of soul and body is discussed, and the influence of that union in health and disease is shown. Under Biology, we have the "Animal Affinities of Man" treated of in a manner at once interesting and instructive. The points of difference between man's body and that of an ape are well summed up. On this matter, Professor Huxley is taken as the authority. That animals are dumb, is taken as evidence that they have no intelligence; and hence the essential point of difference between man and an ape is set down as intellect. The necessity of clearly keeping in view the distinction between "voice" and "language" is shown to be the solution to the argument that led Darwin to adopt the opposite opinion.

Prælectiones Metaphysicae Specialis quas in Collegio Maximo Lovaniensi S. J. habebat GUSTAVUS LAHOUSSE, E.S. Vol. III.—Theologia Naturalis. Lovanii: Car. Peeters. 1888.

PEOPLE are, we regret to say, rather inclined to undervalue the importance of the study of Natural Theology. They think that because we have faith to guide us in regard to the existence and nature of God, it is useless to pursue the speculations of reason. But herein they commit an error: for all men do not profess to have faith, and some there are who are openly opposed to its teachings, and who are ever ready with sophistical arguments to support their agnosticism. We must needs be prepared to meet such men, and in order to gain the victory we require a good grounding in Natural Theology. For this purpose, as well as for private study, Father Lahousse's volume will be found to contain everything. In a work of this description there is not much scope for originality, but nevertheless the author has embodied in it the old maxim, "Non nova, sed nove." Many and various are the arguments he adduces to prove the existence of God, and not less noteworthy is the number of difficulties which he solves with his wonted clearness. But undoubtedly that which will excite most admiration is his defence of Molina's theory on the way in which God foresees the actions of free creatures. While admitting that Molinism leaves a mystery unexplained—how God can know a thing which neither exists nor is pre-contained in determined causes—Father Lahousse adopts it in preference to a theory which he fancies would make God the author of evil by destroying man's free will. The chapters on Molinism and physical pre-motion are worthy of careful study. In regard to the vexed question as to which of God's perfections is the fount whence, according to our way of thinking, all the others are derived, Father Lahousse is in accord with those who hold that *aseitas*, or that perfection of God in virtue of which He exists of Himself, constitutes the essence, if we may so speak, of the Divinity. Appended to the volume will be found the forty condemned propositions of Rosmini. In conclu-

sion, we cannot speak too highly of this book, either as regards its matter, which is excellent; its order, which is admirable; or its language, which is simple and unaffected.

S. Alphonsi M. De Liguori, Episcopi, Confessoris et Ecclesiæ Doctoris liber De Cæremoniis Missæ. Ex Italico idiomate Latine redditus, opportunis notis ac novissimis S. R. C. Decretis illustratus necnon Appendicibus auctus operâ GEORGII SCHOLLES, C.S.S.R. (Editio altera emendata et aucta). Ratisbonæ, &c., typis F. Pustet, 1888.

THIS second edition of a book which is not only useful but interesting and devotional, is brought down to the date of last year. The translator has (rightly, we think), determined not to make any change in the text of St. Alphonsus. Where new decrees have rendered him obsolete, he has enclosed the passage in brackets and printed it in italics. The notes constitute more than half of the book. The Appendix is in eight divisions, and treats of Conventual Mass, Votive Masses, Requiem Masses, the Bishop's Low Mass, &c. The volume forms altogether a very complete manual of all that regards the celebration of the most Holy Sacrifice.

The Centenary Life of O'Connell. By the Very Rev. JOHN CANON O'ROURKE. P.P. *With Recollections of the Liberator in Parliament.* By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. Fifth Edition. Dublin: James Duffy & Sons.

WE need only notice this fifth edition of Canon O'Rourke's popular and interesting life of O'Connell. He will have to modify what he says about the Biddy Moriarty incident (p. 32), since Mr. Fitzpatrick's recent publication of the Liberator's correspondence.

The History and Fate of Sacrilege. By Sir HENRY SPELMAN. A new Edition, with Corrections, Additional Notes, and an Index, by SAMUEL J. EALES, D.C.L. (Catholic Standard Library.) London: John Hodges. 1889.

THIS famous treatise is reprinted as a part of the Catholic Library of Mr. Hodges. Completed apparently in 1632, Sir Henry Spelman's work did not see the light till sixty-six years later. First, the Great Rebellion came, and next, in 1663, when the Rev. Jeremy Stephens, Spelman's literary executor, began to print it, something mysterious happened to prevent him from completing it. Bishop Gibson tells us: "I have been informed by a learned divine that Mr. Stephens was forbidden to proceed lest the publication of it should give offence to the nobility and gentry." After the fire of London,

it was considered to be irretrievably lost, but Bishop Gibson found transcripts of portions of it in various places, and recovered what seems to be nearly the whole work. Yet Gibson himself, the editor of an edition of Spelman's works, did not print the "History of Sacrilege." "Some persons," he says, "in the present age would be apt to interpret the mention of their predecessors in such a manner, and upon such an occasion, as an unpardonable reflection upon their families." But immediately after Gibson's publication of the remains, an unknown editor became possessed of a copy of the work. He calls himself "a less discreet person" than Gibson, "who will e'en let the world make what use of it they please." It was in 1698 that it was published for the first time. The spirited editor puts on his title-page the uncomprising announcement—"A Treatise Omitted in late Editions of his Posthumous Works, and now Published to the Terror of Evil Doers." It was in 1846 that the standard edition of the book was brought out by "Two Priests of the Church of England," the Rev. J. M. Neale and the Rev. B. Webb. They not only collated MSS. and gave a new and far more perfect text, but prefaced the treatise with an exhaustive introductory essay of nearly 130 pages. This goes over the whole ground covered by Spelman, and presents the evidence in a consecutive and literary shape. It is, indeed, the most valuable part of the book. The present editor, Dr. Eales, has reproduced this essay, and has also reprinted the preface proper of the 1846 edition; but he does not seem to be aware that there is another and later (1853) edition, with a short additional preface containing some interesting remarks. Among other things, the editors, speaking of the common opinion that misfortune pursues those who have plundered the Church, quote the following remarkable words, which, they tell us, were spoken by a "certain Jesuit":—"I do not believe in the curse myself as at present existing. I hold that the permission given by the Holy Father in the Concordat has abrogated it. At the same time, there is no doubt that the belief in it is almost universal throughout these countries; and there are certainly instances of remarkable judgments on the possessors of church property, which, though I regard them as fortuitous, I cannot much wonder that others should believe providential."

The late Cardinal Wiseman, in an essay contributed to this REVIEW in September, 1846, says of the publication of the work under consideration: "It will disgust people more and more with that terrible event in English history, the horrors of which have been gilded by the name of Reformation; and some will ask themselves, can that have been God's work which was conducted by the wholesale commission of a crime which till then had been rare in Christendom?" (Essays i. 360.) The Reformation has been discredited in various ways since these lines were written; but the terrible examples and the striking facts here put together have by no means lost their force or their application. And the Cardinal's suggestion, in the same paper, that a translation of the work, or of an abridgment, into foreign languages would be useful in many countries of Europe, is one which

should not be lost sight of now. The effect of such a gallery of judgments on the public opinion of Italy, for example, where there is still a good deal of faith, could not fail to be very strong.

The present editor, without attempting to recast Spelman's undigested work, has given a very complete Index, which renders the original much more easy to consult. He has also added a few corrections and other notes. This issue is beautifully printed on good paper and handsomely bound in cloth.

Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita Ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII. Edidit PHILIPPUS JAFFÉ. Editionem secundam, correctam et auctam auspiciis GUILIELMI WATTENBACH, professoris Berolinensis curaverunt S. LOEWENFELD, F. KALTENBRUNNER, et P. EWALD. II. Vol. Lipsiæ: Veit et Co. 1885-1888.

THE work of Professor Jaffé, containing the *Regesta* of the Roman Pontiffs from St. Peter to Innocent III., has long been famous. The value of the first edition was even acknowledged by a Brief of Pius IX. And the historical student cannot but be deeply grateful for it; enabling him as it does to trace, year by year and day by day, the government of the universal Church by the Roman Pontiffs. Thirty years after the appearance of the first edition four learned German professors of history, among whom Dr Wattenbach, well-known in England, takes the leading place, undertook a second edition, which, after eight years' incessant labour, is at last completed. We now gladly call the attention of English scholars to it; it is so largely improved as to be practically a new work. The substance of each document is briefly summarized, and time and place noted, as also the source whence it is derived. With the introduction of each new Pontificate we are furnished with notes of the day of election and consecration, the motto chosen by each new Pope, the "indictio" and "calculus" (Florentinus Pisanus) for the Bulls. The editors also have in this edition generally given the principal decrees issued by councils presided over by the Popes. This second edition also contains a long series of most important Pontifical letters, which have been gathered from the British Museum by the unwearied zeal of Mr. Edmund Bishop, of Downside. The editors also acknowledge (vol. ii. preface p. vi.) their indebtedness to Father Gilbert Dolan, O.S.B., of the same monastery. The first edition contained 10,749 documents, the second contains no less than 17,079. In the first edition spurious decretals were relegated to an appendix, in the new edition they are inserted in the body of the work, but are distinguished by a cross. Professor Kaltenbrunner, who undertook the first part of the *Regesta* from St. Peter to St. Gregory I., has generally adopted the chronology of Lipsius in his work: "The Chronology of the Roman Bishops, to the Middle of the Fourth Century" (1869). This course cannot

be approved of; Lipsius's opinions are open to many objections. Unfortunately, however, no competent Catholic scholar had appeared as the champion of the Catholic time-honoured tradition at the time when Professor Kaltenbrunner wrote. But soon after his work had made its appearance, Professor Duchesne of the Institut Catholique of Paris, published his "*Liber Pontificalis*" (Paris, Thorin) in which he fully refuted Lipsius's assumptions. Where Kaltenbrunner has failed, I venture to think, is in not adding an Appendix giving the results of Duchesne's critical labours.

Amongst the Pontiffs whose letters appear in greater numbers in this new edition are Gelasius I. and Pelagius I.; eighty-four of their letters are added from the British Museum collection. As Professor Ewald noted, the author of the British Museum collection (Addit. 8873) derived his documents from the archives of the Lateran; they are, therefore, peculiarly valuable (I. pag. 83, p. 124). For the second edition of the second part of this great work we are indebted to the late Professor Ewald himself. The letters here extend from Gregory I. to John VIII. (590-883). No one could easily be better fitted for this task than Professor Ewald, whose inquiries into the British Museum collection and the *Registrum* of St. Gregory I. are highly esteemed by German scholars. His reconstruction of St. Gregory's register for "*Pertz Monumenta Germaniæ*" has been used for this second edition of Jaffé. It should be borne in mind that the original of St. Gregory's register was long ago lost, and only three excerpts have reached us; each one of them distinct from the other. The first excerpt, gathered from the Lateran Register, was undertaken during the Pontificate of Hadrian I. for Charlemagne; the letters in it belong to the fourteen years that St. Gregory occupied St. Peter's chair, they number 686. The second excerpt contains only 200 letters; and the third, which probably comes to us from Paulus Diaconus, contains only 51. The perusal of these venerable documents impresses one with St. Gregory's wonderful talent in ruling the Church, and shows how well he deserved the title of "Great." Another Pontiff, whose history is well illustrated by these British Museum contributions, is the powerful John VIII. (I. p. 376). Fifty-five new letters of his reign are now before the student; they are, for the most part, concerned with the state of the Church in Germany and Bohemia, some of them offer material for vindicating SS. Methodius and Cyril in their adoption of an Eastern liturgy. Special interest attaches to the letters of Gregory VII., of which the former edition contained 459, the present one 549. The unprejudiced scholar will not fail to admire the large views and the pure zeal of this Pope for the glory of God, to which these letters testify. To a Cambridge fragment, containing a large number of letters of Alexander III., we are indebted for being now enabled to trace the history of the events immediately following the peace of Venice (1174). Alexander's letters in the present edition number no fewer than 1899. The third part of the *Regesta*, covering the period from 872 to 1198, and

presenting peculiar difficulties from the immense quantity of documents, is the careful work of Dr. Loewenfeld.

I may now point out some important documents which future writers on canon law and dogmatic theology will have to consult. Pope Liberius, so badly treated by both Catholic and Protestant historians, appears fully vindicated by *new* documents. This second edition (vol. II. p. 691) has a letter of Anastasius I. (398-401) styling him "sanctae recordationis ecclesiae Romanae episcopus," and assigning him a place amongst the strong and gallant defenders of the Nicene synod: "pro qua exilium libenter tulerunt, qui sancti tunc episcopi sunt probati." From Anastasius II. (496-498) we receive (I. p. 96) the decree rejecting the doctrine that "parentes humano genere, ut ex materiali faece tradunt corpora, ita etiam vitalis animae spiritum tribuant." A decree from the British Museum collection of Leo. IV. (847-855) establishes the validity of ordinations conferred by schismatic bishops whenever they have duly observed the requisite forms (I. p. 332). I may also note the special care used by the editors to mark out the pseudo-Isidoran decretals. Anglican divines and historians would do well to study those decrees stigmatized as pseudo-Isidoran. We may now boast of a safe guide in distinguishing the genuine letters of Popes from adulterated documents. Finally, it may interest some to mention that the editors hold that Hadrian IV.'s bull, granting Ireland to Henry II., is genuine (II. p. 109). For the very same reasons which F. Morris, of the London Oratory, has urged in the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record" (vol. xvii. p. 503), I venture to dissent from this opinion of the learned editors.

One may hope that this splendid edition of Jaffé's *Regesta*, containing, as it does, a complete "apologia" of the Roman Pontiffs, and given to the world by the most eminent Protestant historians of Germany, will find its way to the libraries of England.

BELLESHRIM.

Leaves from St. John Chrysostom. Selected and translated by MARY H. ALLIES. Edited, with a Preface, by T. W. ALLIES, K.C.S.G. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

MISS ALLIES has followed up her "*Leaves from St. Augustine*" by a similar series of translations from St. John Chrysostom. Given a competent knowledge of Greek—and Miss Allies should be congratulated on an acquirement which few of her sex care to attempt—John of Antioch is easier to render into English than the great Doctor of Hippo. St. Chrysostom is plain and straightforward; his grand effects are produced by loftiness of thought, sonority of language, and repetition of stroke. He charms by his human sympathy rather than by abstruse philosophy, and by his periodic and rhythmical flow rather than by epigrammatic pregnancy. We have here fifty or sixty selections from his homilies and letters.

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They are well chosen to give an idea of the holy preacher's wealth and variety. We have numerous examples of that powerful exposition of the vanity of the world, of the glories of the Cross, and of the prerogative of the Church in which St. Chrysostom specially excelled. We have also many of those very remarkable passages in which, with an unction and a sublimity he has nowhere surpassed, he expresses his devotion to his great hero, St. Paul. The long extract entitled "The Eyes of Rome" (p. 221), in which from the shores of the Bosphorus he travels in spirit to Rome and sees in spirit the glorious tombs of the Apostles, which alone of all its treasures excite his admiration, is an excellent example both of the Saint's utterances and of Miss Allies' own performance. Her rendering is smooth, idiomatic, and, as far as we have observed, faithful to the original. There is no existing book which is better adapted to make the English reader acquainted with the most eloquent of the Fathers of the Church.

Leigh Hunt as Poet and Essayist. By CHARLES KENT. London: Frederick Warne & Co. 1889.

THIS volume fills a blank in literature, since there has hitherto existed no selection from the works of a man who exercised a powerful influence on the development of English letters in his own generation. Posterity, it is true, finds the estimate made of him by his contemporaries somewhat exaggerated, and the passage of time, which has enhanced the fame of the greater lights of the galaxy to which he belonged, has rendered very dubious his title to shine amongst them. But as material for literary history, the writings of the poet, whose verse first inspired Byron as a schoolboy with the desire to emulate it, who counted Keats as his disciple, and Shelley, as far as the metre of one of his poems, Julian and Maddalo, is concerned, as his imitator, are entitled to be preserved in some form which renders them accessible to the general reader. This task Mr. Kent has performed with judgment and taste, while the biographical introduction prefixed to the work enables the reader to realize the personality of the author and the position he occupied among the literary men of his day. The essays are on every variety of miscellaneous subject, and were published in the various periodicals to which Leigh Hunt was an indefatigable contributor, performing indeed, the probably unparalleled feat of himself writing the entire of one daily journal for more than a year and a half. His industry was rewarded by no pecuniary success, and contributions were frequently levied upon friends to eke out the problematical literary income of the needy poet, until a Government pension for life, together with an annuity settled on him by Sir Percy Shelley, placed him in his latter days at least above actual want.

Mary of Nazareth. By Sir JOHN CROKER BARROW, Bart.
London : Burns & Oates. 1888.

THE author has achieved a difficult task in telling the sublime Scriptural story of the miraculous life of Our Lady, in such fashion as to make the reader realize afresh its beauty and its wonder. The harmonious and solemn strains of his verse are well mated with the loftiness of his theme, while the severe simplicity of the gospel narrative is adhered to with an avoidance of such fanciful amplification as would here seem a desecration. The present little volume is but the first of three parts, and concludes with the Nativity of Our Lord. The opening chapter recalls in subject, though not in manner, the prologue to *Faust*, and bears comparison with it. The dream of the three Archangels is a beautiful idea beautifully worked out, and we subjoin a short extract as a specimen of the author's poetic style :—

That same time, Gabriel—whose angel eyes
Had watched how, month by month, the crescent moon
Had made a silver cradle in the skies;
Had watched, moreover, how, from noon to noon,
She gleaned stray glories from the golden sun;
And watched, moreover, how, from night to night,
She cast those gathered glories one by one,
Upon the passing clouds, in silver light—
Watching the sunlight on the moonlight beam—
Dreamed such a dream, as none but angels dream.

And saw, or seemed to see, a deep abyss,
Dividing man from God; and on the brink,
Uniting God to man, a silver link
Of light, uprising from the moon to kiss
The full-faced beauty of the sun; and then,
High up in Heaven, o'erlooking land and sea,
The throne of One, who seemed to him to be
The queen of angels, and the queen of men!

Louis de Frotté et les insurrections Normandes. Par L. DE LA SÏCOTIÈRE.
Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1889.

THE story of the heroic struggles of the Vendéans against the Revolution is familiar to most readers. The struggles of the Bretons and Normans, though less successful and on a smaller scale, do not deserve the neglect which has been their lot. A short time ago we noticed the biography of Georges Cadoudal, the most renowned of the Breton leaders. MM. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. have followed this up by publishing the present volume on Norman Chouannerie.

The people of Normandy, on the whole, welcomed the early action of the Revolution. They took no steps against it even when the monarchy fell and the king was guillotined. The Vendéan army passed through their country without receiving any large reinforce-

ments. Not until the Terror did the Normans rise, and then it was mainly the religious persecution that aroused them from their apathy. The story of Norman Chouannerie is grouped round the career of one man. It was created by Louis de Frotté and with him it died. Born in 1766, he joined the army, and became from the very first a most determined opponent of the Assembly. He refused the oath of allegiance to the nation, although it was taken and even recommended by many royalists. At the time of the king's flight, Frotté was stationed on the north-eastern frontier, and went over with his troop to join the émigré forces. On the failure of the campaign of 1792 he came to England. In 1795-6 we find him in Normandy, carrying on a sort of guerilla warfare, with varying fortune, against the revolutionary government. His experiences prove how much might have been done if Pitt had heartily co-operated with the royalists. Frotté was forced to fly in July, 1796. For the next three years he was engaged in England in furthering the cause of Louis XVIII. A second expedition to Normandy ended in his surrender and execution (February 18, 1800).

M. de la Sicotière's book is the result of many years labour. He has made himself familiar with all the scenes in the life of his hero. Eye-witnesses of the different events, and a vast mass of unpublished documents have been consulted by him. The materials have been well worked up so as to produce a vivid picture. A copious index of names and an excellent map add much to the value of these interesting volumes.

T. B. SCANNELL.

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1. *L'Hexaméron de Jacques d'Edesse.* Par M. l'Abbé MARTIN. Paris : Imprimerie Nationale. 1888.
 2. *Les Premiers Princes Croisés et les Syriens Jacobites de Jérusalem.* Par M. l'Abbé MARTIN. Paris : Imprimerie Nationale. 1889.

BOTH these essays are reprinted from the *Journal Asiatique*, and contain valuable additions to our knowledge of Syriac literature.

James of Edessa is an author who deserves to be better known than has hitherto been the case. At his epoch, A.D. 633-708, there was no other writer in the whole Christian world who could be at all compared to him for erudition in every branch of knowledge, with the sole exception of our own Venerable Bede, whose lifetime (673-735) partly overlaps that of the great Syrian.* The book of his which M. Martin has lately introduced to the notice of the Asiatic Society of Paris, is one upon which James was engaged at the moment of his death, and which was finished by his friend George, bishop of the Arabs, after that event. It is extremely rare

* Abbé Martin appears to have overlooked Ven. Bede in his statement regarding the Latin Church on p. 3.

in our libraries ; there are only two complete MSS. known, one in Paris and one in Leyden. The former is dated 837, and is only a century posterior to the original. Under the form of a treatise on the six days of creation, it gives a *résumé* of all the known natural science of the times, which reminds one of the writings on similar topics of St. Bede in this country. Abbé Martin quotes abundant passages, which up to this have been inedited, and gives their translation. Some are very curious and interesting. Here we find, perhaps, one of the earliest notices of the phenomenon of "red snow;" a long description is given of the discovery of what we should now call prehistoric human remains in bone-caves. But perhaps the most striking is a long geographical passage that makes one fancy there must have been certain traditions relative to the continent of America known to the author at that early date (see p. 120). Mention is made of the British Isles, situated in the ocean—to wit, Hybernian and Alvion. James's ideas of natural history (*e.g.*, his remarks on the silkworm and the parrot) and physiology are remarkably accurate for the time; and some of them might pass current in a popular book at the present day.

In a second essay M. Martin edits a Syriac text and version, which contains a very interesting account of one of the earliest Crusaders, a companion of Godfrey of Bouillon, whose name appears as *ܕܝܘܢܐ* or *ܕܝܘܢܐ*, and must therefore have been either

Geoffrey or Gulerius (Gauffier). He was a prisoner for some thirty years in Egypt (about 1103–1136), but eventually set at liberty by the intervention of an Armenian bishop, and returned to Jerusalem, then under its Christian kings. A good deal of incidental light is thrown upon the history of the Latin kingdom of the time.

L. C. C.

His Victory. By CHRISTIAN REID. Notre Dame, Indiana :
"Ave Maria" Press. 1887.

THIS is a brief but well-told story of conversion to the true faith. It forcibly illustrates the evils consequent upon the too facile method of divorce which obtains in the United States of America.

One of His Little Ones; and other Tales and Sketches in Prose and Verse. By J. S. FLETCHER, Author of "Our Lady's Month," "Anima Christi," &c. &c. London: R. Washbourne. 1888.

A NEATLY got up reprint of stories in prose and verse which have appeared in *Merry England* and other Catholic publications, and in *Chambers' Journal*. They are thoroughly Catholic in tone, and the little book fulfils its purpose as an acceptable reward-book for juveniles.

The Story of the Nations Series.—1. *Holland.* By JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS. 2. *The Goths.* By HENRY BRADLEY. 3. *Medieval France.* By GUSTAVE MASSON. 4. *Persia.* By W. S. G. W. BENJAMIN. 5. *Turkey.* By STANLEY LANE-POOLE, assisted by E. J. W. GIBB and ARTHUR GILMAN. 6. *Phœnicia.* By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A. 7. *Media, Babylon, and Persia, from the Fall of Nineveh to the Persian War.* By ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1888-89.

1. **P**ROFESSOR THOROLD ROGERS contributes to the "Story of the Nations" series a history of Holland, which relates at some length the successful struggle of the United Provinces against the Spanish domination, and sketches very briefly the events that preceded and followed this important period. It is a common failing of historians and biographers to overrate the importance of the subject with which they deal, and Professor Thorold Rogers appears to us to have a wholly exaggerated view of the influence on the world's history of the war between Dutchman and Spaniard. He holds "that the revolt of the Netherlands and the success of Holland is the beginning of modern political science and of modern civilization." There is the same exaggeration in his panegyric of the new State. Thus he says:—

The debt of modern Europe to Holland is by no means limited to the lessons which it taught as to the true purposes of civil government. It taught Europe nearly everything else. It instructed communities in progressive and rational agriculture. It was the pioneer in navigation and in discovery; and, according to the lights of the age, was the founder of intelligent commerce. It produced the greatest jurists of the seventeenth century. It was pre-eminent in the arts of peace. The presses of Holland put forth more books than all the rest of Europe did. It had the most learned scholars. The languages of the East were first given to the world by Dutchmen. It was foremost in physical research, in rational medicine. It instructed statesmen in finance, traders in banking and credit, philosophers in the speculative sciences. For a long time that little storm-vexed nook of North-Western Europe was the university of the civilized world, the centre of European trade, the admiration, the envy, the example of nations.

Much of this is true, but the general impression it produces is false, because exaggerated, and some of the statements made will not bear examination. "The languages of the East were first given to the world by Dutchmen." Which of them? Was it Hebrew, or Arabic, which were both studied in the schools of Italy and Spain centuries before the United Provinces existed; or was it Sanskrit, the knowledge of which came to Europe through two Italians, a Jesuit and a Carmelite; or Chinese, which we owe to the Catholic missionaries, mostly Spaniards, Italians, and Frenchmen? As for Dutch commerce, its history is one of the most disgraceful chapters in the annals of trade. It culminates in the degradation to which Dutch traders submitted in Japan, and the infamy they practised in year after year

publicly hanging on the crucifix to clear themselves of all suspicion of Popery. Nor is the history of the Dutch colonies a pleasant one from the point of view of "civilization and progress."

Professor Thorold Rogers is no admirer of Catholicity. He loses no opportunity of saying bitter things of the Catholic Church. He seems to think that the cruelties of Alva were essentially Catholic. He tells how "the Popes, always for a consideration, assumed the power of freeing the king from his oaths, and of holding him harmless if he committed perjury." This is not history but calumny. He mistakes for the Catholic doctrine on government the Gallican and Protestant theory, the theory of Stuart and Bourbon, which enforced absolute obedience to the unlimited divine right of kings. The Catholic theory as set forth by St. Thomas, or, to take a later writer, Suarez, has evidently never been even heard of by our author, who imagines that the rights of the subject and duty of the ruler were alike discovered for the first time by his favourite Dutchmen, who also invented the law of nations somewhere in the seventeenth century. He is strangely blind also to the fierce persecuting spirit of the Protestant Dutch, who, it would appear from his sketch, were also the inventors of toleration. He has one naïve remark on the subject, and puts forward the usual stereotyped excuse for Protestant persecution:—

The Dutch [he says] were the first to permit and to acknowledge religious toleration. . . . They could not, indeed, permit the open performance of Roman Catholic rites. But it must be remembered that in the sixteenth century the faith of the Roman Church was a gigantic conspiracy, unsleeping and unscrupulous, against any man, any State, any race which dissented from it. To give way to it, when its supremacy was repudiated, was to be treasonable to liberty, to hope, to progress, to justice.

This is fully up to the best traditions of Exeter Hall. The author's personal bias has spoiled what might have been a good book in more impartial hands. Professor Thorold Rogers is welcome to denounce the tyranny of Alva, welcome to praise the valour of the brave men who held the walls and dykes of Leyden through the world-famous siege. We would go heartily with him in all this. But why bring in these insults and calumnies against the faith which to this day is more than any other creed the religion of the civilized world? We have praised several other volumes of this series; we cannot praise this latest history of Holland.

2. *The Story of the Goths* is interesting enough, and romantic in parts, but not very instructive, at least as told by Mr. Bradley. The careers of Belisarius, and of Theoderic and Totila, will of course always repay perusal and excite interest; but one puts down the volume with the feeling that the sum total of one's historical views has not been added to. Those not familiar with Gibbon will doubtless learn much about the state of Southern Europe from the fifth to the seventh centuries; but we take it that the most important part of Gothic history, after the reign of Theoderic at any rate, is

that which has to do with the early Spanish Church and the series of Councils of Toledo; this branch of the subject, however, is dealt with only in the roughest outline. Throughout, Mr. Bradley gives the impression that he does not think it a matter of much concern whether a people be Catholic or Arian. Beyond this general tone, the only thing we need single out for comment is his treatment of St. Hermenigild. Whatever may be thought about the war he waged against his father, there can be no question that his death was caused by the firmness of his opposition to Arianism, and that, whatever his life may have been, his end was that of a martyr for the Nicene faith. This was the opinion of St. Gregory of Tours; and Mr. Bradley is quite wrong in stating that it was only in later ages that Hermenigild came to be revered as a martyr and a saint. St. Gregory the Great is another contemporary witness of the contrary.

3. M. Masson's "*Mediæval France*" embraces the period from 987 to 1515. A good many details of much interest are given in a very interesting way, especially, as might be expected, concerning the literature. But, owing perhaps to the scale of the work, no picture either of the state of society, or of the political movements of the time, is presented. But the perusal of some such book would help much to give a more intelligent appreciation of many parts of English history.

4. Mr. Benjamin gives us a bold outline of the history of Persia from the legendary days of Djemsheed and Feridoon to the modern period of Mohammedan rule. To do this in less than three hundred pages is no easy matter, and the author necessarily sketches some periods with a very light hand. He has wisely given a good deal of space to the dynasty of the Sassanidae, but he might have with advantage curtailed the chapters on the legendary period, and told us a little more about the religious aspects of ancient Persia. Mr. Benjamin is not quite as much at home with this part of his subject as with some others, or he would not talk of "the pure Persian tongue called the Zend, a branch of the Sanskrit." His account of the career of Manes, and some other passages in the book, are open to criticism from a Catholic point of view.

5. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, a recognized authority on all that relates to the Mohammedan East, has already contributed to the series a volume on the Moors in Spain, and we are glad to hear that he has another in preparation on the Barbary Corsairs. The present volume on Turkey gives in a small compass the chief features of a deeply interesting story. The concluding chapters on Constantinople (contributed by Mr. Gibb), on the old Court of the Sultans, and on Turkish literature, are among the brightest portions of the book. In his sketch of recent Turkish history the author is bold enough to say (and rightly too) that the Turks have not been fairly beaten in this century, and have still the making of a strong military power. We believe that he exaggerates a little the effects of English influence in Turkey. His favourite hero, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, is credited with far more than is his due; and, to notice a smaller matter,

Butler and Nasmyth are given the whole glory of the defence of Silistria, which was really the work, not of those two young officers, but of a soldier worthy of the earlier days of Ottoman victory, Hussein Avni Pasha. It is a real merit in Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole that he can write of the Turks without, on the one hand, descending to conventional abuse of them, or, on the other, passing over in silence the dark pages of their history, and the weak points of their character.

6. Professor Rawlinson's name is in itself a sufficient guarantee for the excellence of this popular history of Phœnicia, one of the latest volumes of the "Story of the Nations" series.

7. Madame Ragozin's history of Media, Babylon, and Persia in the same series includes a detailed study of the religion of the Avesta. It is very satisfactory to note that in this work good use has been made of the researches of Mgr. de Harlez of Louvain. This marks a decided improvement upon the time when a popular English writer on the Avesta was certain to ignore anything more recent than Martin Haug's now antiquated theories.

The End of the Middle Ages: Essays and Questions in History. By A. MARY F. ROBINSON (Madame James Darmesteter). London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1889.

MADAME DARMESTETER'S essays treat in a fascinating way many subjects of great interest to the historical student. Not only are old themes, about which so much has been written, made fresh again by the charm of the authoress's graceful style, but much new material proves the diligence with which she has studied the subjects she essays to illustrate. Many people, no doubt, will be led by the title of the volume to expect much which is not there. We ourselves were so misled by what is really, under the circumstances, an inexcusable use of the absurd and dishonest fashion of the present day to christen a miscellaneous collection of papers by any high sounding and attractive title. Madame Darmesteter clearly feels this, and takes the reader into her confidence at the outset, pleading forgiveness for her weakness, so we shall only say that, with so much that is charming in her pages, we regret that she should have launched her venture under a false flag.

A considerable portion of the volume is devoted to French connections with northern Italy. In spite of the very complicated arrangements of relationships necessarily incidental to the subject, the authoress, in the two essays, "Valentine Visconti" and "The Claim of the House of Orleans," gives a very clear insight into what has long been one of the stock historical puzzles—the origin and nature of the French claims on Milan. To our mind, these two essays are the best of the papers which form the volume; when once they are commenced they naturally carry us on to the end with an interest that never flags. The description of Valentine Visconti at the French

court, of her husband Orleans' ambition and murder, of Valentine's strange influence over the poor mad monarch, Charles VI., when none but she could approach him in the paroxysms of his malady, and of the strange way in which the superstitious folly of the people attributed this influence to the witchcraft of the poor neglected Italian princess, forms as dramatic a story as the most ardent modern novel reader could desire. Here is a short account of the afflicted Charles, which may serve as a specimen of the whole essay: "When the King wailed in desperate protest against his oncoming madness, all the Court wept with him. But once that eclipse accomplished, the Court forgot the King. Part of the royal palace of St. Paul's had been turned into a safe asylum. There the King lived, sometimes for many weeks, unwashed, eaten with filth and vermin, suffering no attendant to approach him. He was then a mere wild beast, tormented with canine hunger, fierce, suspicious, and sometimes wild with fear. Then he would pace from end to end of his apartments, fleeing his imaginary pursuers, until he dropt exhausted in senseless lethargy." Whilst expressing ourselves as much pleased with these essays, our approbation must not be understood as extending to the entire volume. We greatly regret that Madame Darmesteter should have included in it the three first papers, not that they do not possess an equal literary merit, but that they deal with subjects which she does not in the least understand. Nothing can show better how very little the primary principles of the ascetic life are understood outside the Catholic Church than the grotesque account of the life of St. Gertrude given in the second of these essays, "The Convent of Helfta." The language of mystical writers, no less than that of the schoolmen, requires to be interpreted for those who are unacquainted with the spirit of the Church. Had Madame Darmesteter looked to a Catholic priest for assistance in understanding the meaning of the Science of the Saints she might have avoided writing a good deal of nonsense in these three first essays, from which the best intentions of Mr. Symonds and Canon Creighton have been unavailing to save her.

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1. *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters.* Von JOHANNES JANSSEN. VI. Band. Freiburg: Herder. 1888.
 2. *L'Allemagne et la Reforme.* Vol. II. Par JEAN JANSSEN. Traduit sur la 14ième edition par E. PARIS. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1888.

PROFESSOR JANSSEN has now happily brought his celebrated history of the German people to its sixth volume. Fears have been felt lest the scale of the work should prevent its completion: it is pleasant, therefore, to learn from the author that his seventh volume is ready for the printer. The present volume is chiefly occupied with the "Culturzustände" of the German people during

the period between the end of the Middle Ages and the breaking out of the Thirty Years' War. The author first deals with the condition of art, both architecture, sculpture, painting, and music, as the outcome of the Catholic mind in the Middle Ages; after which he traces the influence on this Catholic and artistic mind of the Renaissance. Considerable space is devoted to tracing the downfall of art through the action of the religious revolution and of its upholders. Our author, in this new volume, has faithfully adhered to those rules of historical statement which won for him the praise of Catholic scholars; in refined, even classical, German he marshals the *facts* of history, supporting his reading of them by the very words of our adversaries. Hence, the perusal of this admirably written history is highly interesting, whilst the great truths which are related deeply impress the reader and bear solemn testimony to the old faith so cruelly attacked and insulted by the sadly miscalled reformers. Also, in this, as in former volumes, Dr. Jannsen's research and careful use of long forgotten polemical literature of the first period of the Reformation are conspicuous. Under this aspect the volume has a value of its own, independently of its main purpose, in the vast knowledge it opens out on the subject of German literature; indeed, the second part, under the heading "*Volks-litteratur*" (popular literature), traces the whole development of poetry, pamphlets, drama, comedy, and writings on witchcraft. To enter into details, by way of illustration, would be impossible here. In very general terms, the result of Jannsen's researches may be summed up thus: The overthrow of the Catholic religion, wherever it has been successfully carried, has proved to be not progress, but, on the contrary, retrogression, and has led to a disastrous falling away from those principles that alone are able to develop a people's mind—taking development in the Catholic meaning, development in the highest and only true sense of the word. I hear that an English translation of the first volume is on the eve of being brought out; I beg to wish the translator God speed.

BELLESHEIM.

We are glad to add to Dr. Bellesheim's notice of the sixth volume a line to draw attention to the appearance of a second instalment of the French translation; because, pending the appearance of an English version, Messrs. Plon's edition brings Jannsen's text within the reach of numerous English readers to whom it is a sealed treasure in the original. The former volume of the French edition (reviewed by us in April 1887, p. 450) treated of the intellectual condition generally of Germany at the close of the Middle Ages, the present volumes carries the history of events in the great religious and political revolution from its beginnings to 1525. The chapters on the New Humanism, on Luther, and on the Diet of Worms, are notably excellent. The translation is also of uniform excellence, and the bibliographical table and indices, nominal and geographical, are all good and very useful.

An Exposition of the Epistles of St. Paul. By BERNARDINE A PICONIO. Translated and Edited from the original Latin by A. H. PRICHARD, B.A. *Epistle to the Romans and the First Epistle to the Corinthians.* London: John Hodges. 1888.

THE translator of the well-known commentary of A Piconio on St. Paul's Epistles has here not only translated but (as he admits) "edited" as well. He has not only compressed the original in places, and ail but obliterated the author's familiar three-fold division—paraphrase, annotation, and corollary of piety—but he has suppressed and altered the text in many places in a way which utterly destroys the peculiar character of the commentary. In Piconio there is a kind of genial fullness and devotional earnestness running all through. This translator manages to disguise and eliminate so much of this that the translation reads dry and jejune. We have not, however, observed any grave error or perversion of the text; and, therefore, the volume may be useful to those who do not wish to use the Latin.

Manchester Dialogues. By Father HARPER, S.J. London: Catholic Truth Society.

THIS is an edition of the well-known Dialogues, in which, with laudable enterprise, the Catholic Truth Society gives us 156 closely-printed pages in limp cover for 6d. Will be very useful for gratuitous circulation.

Manual of Biblical Archæology. By C. F. KEIL. Translated by Rev. P. CHRISTIE and A. CUSIN. Edited by Rev. F. CROMBIE, D.D. Two vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1887.

THIS is a valuable addition to Messrs. Clark's Foreign Theological Library. It is a standard treatise on the subject, and is enriched with the author's latest additions and notes. We regret to learn that the learned author died before the completion of the second volume. Dr. Keil was a learned defender of the older or more orthodox opinions in regard to Scriptural matters. Except incidentally there is little or no attempt to discuss the Wellhausen theory of the Hexateuch. Dr. Keil was an earnest believer, and, therefore, his explanation of Levitical rites and customs is based on Christian faith. Hence the work is of special use to the preacher, and will be a material aid to him in showing how the Old Testament is fulfilled in the New, whilst the New lay hid in the Old. On the other hand, the student will find what he may elsewhere search for in vain, the rationale of the Mosaic law reverently and thoughtfully set forth. The logical arrangement of the work makes it easy for reference—an advantage which will be appreciated by those who know what it is to be sent by commentators "from pillar to post" on a fruitless

search. The learned author prefaces his work with a short treatise on the sources of Biblical Archæology. It is curious to notice how much the authority of Josephus is discredited by modern scholars. On the other hand, a most fruitful source of knowledge is found in accounts of early travel and modern Palestinian exploration. The labours carried out by Wilson, Anderson, Warren, Stewart, and Conder are honourably mentioned. It is amusing to notice how hard it is for a German to own that his countrymen have been taken in. Dr. Keil refers to the famous Moabite pottery, for which the Prussian government paid so large a sum of money, and says that "its genuineness is still disputed." It would be more correct to say that, thanks to M. Clermont-Ganneau, its spuriousness is known to every one who does not look through German spectacles.

God Knowable and Known. By MAURICE RONAYNE, S.J. Author of "Religion and Science : Their Union Historically Considered." New York : Benziger Brothers. 1888.

IN eleven chapters bearing on the existence and knowableness of God, our author makes no pretence to advance any new arguments ; but he cleverly and clearly puts, mostly in dialogue form, already well-known theses in a newer and fresher dress, making the subject matter, to many often somewhat dry reading, more readable and attractive. Among the more important chapters will be found "Nature Witnessing to God," "The Human Race Bearing Testimony to God," and "Conscience as a Witness to God." An Appendix is mainly devoted to "A Refutation of Darwinism," and a vigorous criticism of the article "Theism" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

The Grey Lady of Hardcastle. Edited by A FRIEND OF THE FAMILY. London : Burns and Oates. New York : Catholic Publication Society.

THIS is a controversial novel, but a little controversy is made to go a long way, and brings down its game very easily. It seems hardly fair to the chief convert, supposed to be lost at sea, but brought back converted, that he should be immediately killed off by consumption. There is plenty of incident for one volume, including several rescues from drowning, and one or two tragic deaths. All the family have presentiments before anything dreadful happens, and the "Grey Lady," as a good ghost should, puts in most impressive appearances. Though not of a high order of fiction, and with much crude workmanship, the book will interest and amuse.

A Manual of Introduction to the New Testament. By Dr. BERNHARD WEISS. Translated from the German by A. J. K. DAVIDSON. Two vols. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1887.

THE "Foreign Biblical Library" grows apace under the energetic editorship of the Rev. Robertson Nicoll. Dr. Weiss's work on the New Testament is a well chosen book and amply repays translation. The Berlin professor is both a competent and faithful guide to "the rich treasury of the New Testament records." His method is first to give an historical account of the growth of the canon, then to discuss each sacred writing in detail, and finally to give an outline of New Testament textual criticism. One special merit of the work lies in the fact that it is quite up to date in modern Biblical criticism. If Mrs. Ward had put the book into the hands of Robert Elsmere he would have made a better fight against the old squire's rusty Tübingen criticism. Dr. Weiss's historical sketch of German critics and their various schools will be interesting to English readers. It is needless to remark that the learned author, after the manner of Germans, completely ignores all criticism which is not home made. On questions of authorship Dr. Weiss is generally a defender of traditional views, though he often disappoints his readers by the vagueness of his expressions. Instances of this may be seen in his summary of the Johannine controversy in relation to the Fourth Gospel, and in his discussion of the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles.

Essays in Biblical Greek. By EDWIN HATCH, M.A., D.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1889.

WE gladly welcome this book as one directly calculated to remove the reproach of sterility against English scholarship in the deeper branches of Biblical knowledge. These essays are the substance of Dr. Hatch's labours as Grinfield lecturer on the Septuagint. The learned author deserves the thanks of Hellenist scholars for their publication in so convenient a form. He treats of the differences between classical and Biblical Greek, and adds careful studies on the leading psychological terms. "The difficulty of Biblical Greek," he truly says, "really begins when we remember that it was Greek as spoken not merely in a foreign country and under new circumstances, but also by an alien race." He likens it to Englishmen talking French, or a Hindoo-Mussulman speaking English. It is an attempt to express Moses and the Prophets in the terminology of Olympus and the Iliad. It is a language standing by itself, and yet needing the help of Hebrew and classic Greek to interpret it adequately. Two essays are devoted to a critical study of Septuagint quotations, and form a valuable aid to the textual criticism of the Septuagint. This ought to make students yearn all the more earnestly for the new critical edition of the Septuagint promised us by the great school of Cambridge scholars. The re-

maining essays are occupied with special studies of the Greek text of Job and Ecclesiasticus. Dr. Hatch considers that Origen's text of Job has come from an amplified Hebrew original, whilst the ordinary LXX. gives the book in its older and shorter form.

Irish Songs and Poems. By FRANCIS A. FAHY. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1887.

Lays of South Sligo. By JOHN O'DOWD. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1888.

THE poems in these two collections are partly political, partly narrative and sentimental. Written at different times, under the impressions produced by passing events, they are of varying merit, but there is true poetry in some of them.

The Biblical Illustrator. By the Rev. JOSEPH S. EXELL, M.A. Ephesians—Galatians. London: James Nisbet & Co.

THESE two volumes are marvellous specimens of compilation. Into the six or seven hundred closely-printed pages of each volume are gathered, with wondrous industry, short illustrations from various sources to elucidate every verse of St. Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians and Galatians. The preacher will find therein many suggestive hints and apt illustrations. The pious reader will be provided with an exhaustive collection of short passages from homilists of every church or sect. But the critical student, in search of the exact force of a Greek word, or the interpretation of a difficult construction, must betake himself elsewhere.

The Text of Jeremiah. By the Rev. G. COULSON WORKMAN, M.A., with an Introductory Notice by Professor F. DELITZSCH. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1889.

THIS is the earnest attempt of an American Professor of Exegesis to solve the difficult problem of the variations between the Greek and Hebrew texts of Jeremiah. It comprises a critical study in detail of the additions, omissions, and alterations found by comparing the Septuagint with the Hebrew. It concludes with an attempt to restore the old Hebrew, as distinguished from the Masorite text, of which the Greek was a translation. Only a profound Hebrew scholar could undertake the labour of retranslating Greek into Hebrew. This is what Professor Workman has done. Whether it was worth doing, and what its value is when done, depends on what judgment is formed of the Greek text. If the Greek version is simply an imperfect, hasty, and arbitrary translation or paraphrase, as some scholars think, then we must be content

with the Hebrew text as fixed by the Masora. But if the Greek is a literal and careful translation, it bears witness to a Hebrew text older by many centuries and purer than that which is handed down to us. This last is the opinion held by Professor Workman and a large school of modern critics, including Wellhausen, who are not afraid to assert that "the received text of the Old Testament is both faulty and defective." This reaction in favour of the Greek version is very remarkable, and at the same time most perplexing to rigid "Bible-only" Christians. As regards the divergent texts of Jeremiah, the outcome of the learned Professor's studies is that there must have been two recensions or collections of Jeremiah's prophecies, one in Palestine, another in Egypt; that the Masorite Hebrew represents, more or less faithfully, the former, whilst the Septuagint, with its changed order of prophecies concerning the Gentiles and its many variations, is a literal translation of a Hebrew manuscript preserved in Alexandria. The Professor considers the translation to be of the utmost value for purposes of text criticism, as being the work of two or more translators, who "in no way arbitrarily changed the original Hebrew text, nor were they influenced by personal scruple, theological bias, or religious tendency." As a textual critic Professor Workman deserves the highest praise, both for learning and for reverence. He takes as his watchword the "weighty words of golden truth proclaimed by Delitzsch—God is the God of truth; love of truth, yielding to the constraint of truth, giving up traditional views which cannot stand the test of truth, is a sacred duty, a part of the fear of God."

Lettere di Benedetto XIV. al Canonico Pier Francesco Peggi, Bolognese (1729–1758) pubblicate per cura di FR. XAV. KRAUS. Friburg (Baden): Mohr. 1888.

THE first edition of these Letters of the Great Pope Benedict XIV. was noticed in this REVIEW, January 1885. The celebration at Bologna in 1887 of the eighth centenary of the foundation of the University, once so famous for the study of law, suggested to Professor Kraus to bring out a second edition, which he has appropriately dedicated to the Alma mater of Bologna, on which Benedict XIV. bestowed so many favours during his Pontificate of nineteen years. This new edition is adorned with portraits of Benedict XIV. and Canon Peggi, to whom most of the letters, all written in classical Italian, are addressed. We have also several new letters of the Pope to members of his family, which the editor has fortunately found in the archives of Bologna. Two "Frammenta Vitæ Benedicti XIV." (pp. 197–250) are specially noteworthy, the first of which is by Flaminio Scarselli, a contemporary and friend of the Pope, the second lacks the name of its author. Whether the editor is right in attributing it to the same author we have no means of deciding.

Il valore del Sillabo. Studio teologico e storico del P. CARLO GIUSEPPE RINALDI, S.J., con appendice d' documenti. Roma : *Civiltà Cattolica*. 1888.

FATHER RINALDI is favourably known to the readers of the *Civiltà Cattolica* for the articles he contributed to it in 1887 on the Syllabus of 1864. When the late Cardinal Jacobini, Secretary of State, read these articles he resolved to forward to Father Rinaldi a large quantity of unknown documents relating to the origin and the history of the Syllabus. Out of these and the previous articles has grown the above volume. In it the author is chiefly occupied in establishing the dogmatic character of the Syllabus; and his solid treatment of the topic will obtain him grateful readers everywhere, especially among theologians. As would be anticipated, we find a prominent place among the authors to whom he is indebted given to His Eminence Cardinal Manning. The larger part of the work is occupied in refuting the objections raised in certain quarters against the binding force of the Syllabus on the consciences of Catholics. As to Germany and England at least, we are inclined to reckon as most valuable the latter part of Rinaldi's work, which throws new light on the origin and history of the Syllabus. This much appears to be pretty certain—it was not the Jesuits who made the Syllabus. The congregation of Roman theologians named by order of Pius IX. for the Syllabus, numbered amongst its members only one Jesuit, F. Perrone, whose name is the last of all (p. 210). The first idea of issuing the Syllabus should be credited to Cardinal Pecci (Leo XIII.), who as, Bishop of Perugia, in the Provincial Council of Spoleto, 1849, showed the necessity for such a Pontifical document. We are indebted to Father Rinaldi for his giving us the famous pastoral letter of Mgr. Gerbet, Bishop of Perpignan, who, in 1860, censured eighty-five propositions as heretical and erroneous. This pastoral letter determined the Pope to take further steps for carrying out the petitions which had reached him from many quarters. The numerous incidental notes gathered from Cardinal Jacobini's manuscripts enhance the value of the work, which, perhaps, will find an English translator.

BELLESHEIM.

The Banshee and other Poems. By JOHN TODHUNTER. London : Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

THERE is a rich store of poetry in the legends of ancient Erin. The mine has been very little worked, and often by unskilled hands. Mr. Todhunter is the author of several volumes of graceful verse, and his latest work is one that will gain for him many Irish readers. The chief poem in the book is a metrical version of the Doom of the Children of Lir. It is a gem of weird, strange poetry. Its subject is the most beautiful of Irish legends, the same which

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suggested Moore's well-known melody, "Silent, O Moyle, be the Roar of thy Waters." But while Moore's verses are a mere sketch of one phase of the legend, Mr. Todhunter's story is a finished picture of the beautiful whole. Another of the tragic stories of early Ireland is told in the "Lament for the Sons of Turann." Others of the poems deal with modern topics, and in more than one the author sings of the new hopes of the Irish race at the present day.

Lives of the Fathers of the Desert. Translated from the German of the Countess HAHN-HAHN, by E. F. B. With an introduction on the Spiritual Life of the First Six Centuries by J. B. DALGAIRNS, Priest of the Oratory. Second Edition. London: Thomas Baker. 1888.

Meditations on the Life and Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ. By Dr. JOHN TAULER. Translated from the Latin by a Secular Priest. Second Edition. London: Thomas Baker. 1889.

MR. BAKER sends us these two Catholic books of well-established reputation, which now appear better bound, to our judgment, than they were originally, but we doubt very much whether they are *new editions*. Certainly the Countess Hahn-Hahn's volume is, as far as we can detect, merely a reprint from the old plates, if not, indeed, only the original sheets newly got up. There is, at all events, nothing in it new above what was contained in the old edition. Nevertheless, both books are valuable, and deserve to be reintroduced to the notice of the Catholic public. There is a wonderful charm about the lives of the Egyptian anchorites and monks, the greater perhaps that all the circumstances of their daily existence are so utterly different from ours and their habitual practices so impossible to modern strength. "Giants were upon the earth in those days," truly; but happily in the case of the spiritual giants their strength is something better than a marvel: it is an example and encouragement to our puny selves. The lives of SS. Anthony, Hilarion, Pachomius, Macrina, Simeon Stylites, and others, which are detailed in this volume, have formed the daily meditation of countless men and women, and are still an incentive to fervour. The Countess Hahn-Hahn's narrative is direct and charmingly simple—the translation good. Father Dalgairns's Introduction on the Spiritual Life of the First Six Centuries is a thing apart, and is, like so much that he wrote, of singular excellence, erudite, profoundly thoughtful, and scientific. The translation of Tauler's meditations is in a quaintly antique style that lends a charm to the simple outpourings of a loving prayerful heart—for such these meditations are rather than the discursive considerations more familiar in modern books. Some of the chapters which we have looked at strike us as singularly pathetic and devotional.

An Exposition of the Gospel of St. John. By his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. MACEVILLY, Archbishop of Tuam. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1889.

ARCHBISHOP MACEVILLY'S commentaries on the Gospels and Epistles are too well known to need any recommendation. He now publishes his exposition of the Gospel of St. John. It contains, like the others, an analysis of each chapter (the Douay version and the Vulgate being printed throughout), and a critical, exegetical, doctrinal, and moral commentary. For the ecclesiastic, who seeks for something which shall be at the same time learned and devout, there could be no better manual. The Archbishop, with the earnest spirit of a professor and the responsible sobriety of a pastor, offers the student and the preacher a *vade mecum* which will stand them in good stead in all controversies and in their daily duty of the breaking of the bread of the Sacred Word. Such a work does not lend itself to quotation. It is made up of minute and thorough study, presented in clear English, and in a form which enables the reader to turn at once to the passage required. It will be welcomed in every presbytery, and cultivated laymen should have it at hand for their guidance in difficulties and their help in devotion.

Life of St. Jerome. By Mrs. CHARLES MARTIN. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

THOUGH one cannot help admiring the eloquent style and good spirit of this book, yet it is a provoking one. It ought to have been better. It affords no help to the reader in following or comparing the narrative. Though abounding in quotations, especially from St. Jerome himself, it has no references. There is no index, nor even a table of contents—nor even headings to chapters. The writer tells us she has made great use of M. Amédée Thierry's "*Saint Jérôme*"—she writes his name Amadée—but she would have done better had she been better decided in her own mind as to whether her book was to be a piece of sober history or an expanded leading article. Such a sentence as this is not profitable to much:—"Who but Jerome could have so perfectly played the rôles of a soldier and doctor of the Church, and yet of the accomplished man of the world, able to guide through its tortuous ways the most tender and innocent consciences?" (p. 3). What does it mean to call St. Jerome a "man of the world"? He was a man who condemned and railed at the world—as Mrs. Martin, indeed, most amply shows. In her own phrase, he was a "pessimist"—ill as that modern *argot* describes his Evangelical point of view. His direction of conscience was, no doubt, the direction of a saint and a doctor, but delicacy of steering is probably the hardest to discover of its many admirable qualities. One of the most interesting features in his great career was his energetic appreciation of the celibate life for

women, combined with his very high opinion of women's intellectual capabilities. Mrs. Martin tells us that she has dwelt more particularly on his dealings with the noble and distinguished women whom he directed, "hoping that in so doing I may add my mite of encouragement to the great movement for the mental emancipation and intellectual progress of the weaker sex which this century has inaugurated" (vi.) Yet she considers that women were regarded by St. Jerome "with something of the suspicious view of the primitive ages, the saints, sages, and humourists of which agree in taking a rather low view of feminine morality" (p. 131). And she says that he was "born to be an old bachelor." This kind of writing is somewhat too smart to give confidence in the writer's ability to present a really trustworthy sketch of one of the great saints of the Latin Church. But we repeat that the book, whilst not pretending to be more than a sketch, is well written, lively, pervaded by a Catholic feeling.

Leaves of Life. By E. NESBIT. London: Longmans. 1888.

THAT the author can tell a story in stirring and dramatic verse two pieces in the present volume, entitled "Treason" and "The Ballad of Splendid Silence," sufficiently prove, while the shorter lyrics are the genuine poetic utterances of a temperament whose true speech is song. Their varied modulations of rhyme and rhythm give musical expression to an equal variety of moods, common in greater or less degree to all men, but which it is given to the singer alone to put into words. A higher tone of thought is struck in some of the pieces, and the one entitled "Two Lives" is in this respect especially suggestive.

Ireland: the Causes of its Present Condition and the Measures Proposed for its Improvement. By EARL GREY, K.G. London: John Murray. 1888.

EARL GREY writes from the Unionist point of view. The remedies he proposes for Irish discontent might have solved the Irish question a few years ago; but events have moved more rapidly than the noble author seems to realize, and what was possible even in 1879 is impossible in the present year.

Life of Frederick Schiller. By HENRY W. NEVISON. London: Walter Scott. 1889.

MR. NEVISON'S *Life of Schiller* is fully up to the high standard of Mr. Walter Scott's "Great Writers" Series, to which it belongs. For German students especially it will form a most useful introduction to a writer through whose works so many make their first acquaintance with the German classics. The bibliography in the appendix is very full and carefully compiled.

Books of Devotion and Spiritual Reading.

1. *Dignity and Duties of the Priest ; or, Selva.* By St. ALPHONSUS DE LIGUORI. Edited by the Rev. EUGENE GRIMM, C.SS.R. (Centenary Edition). New York : Benziger Brothers. 1889.
2. *St. Alphonsus' Prayer-Book. Selections from the Works of St. Alphonsus de Liguori.* By Rev. Father St. OMER, C.SS.R. Translated from the French by G. M. WARD. New York : Benziger Brothers.
3. *The Most Beautiful among the Children of Men.* By Mrs. ABEL RAM. With a Preface by the CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP of WESTMINSTER. Second Edition. London : R. Washbourne. 1889.
4. *The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin.* By Father WILFRID LESCHER, O.P. London : Burns & Oates.
5. *The New Testament.* Sixpenny Edition. London : Burns & Oates.
6. *Catholic Worship. The Sacraments, Ceremonies, and Festivals of the Church explained in Questions and Answers.* By Rev. O. GISLER. Translated from the German by Rev. RICHARD BRENNAN, LL.D. New York : Benziger Brothers.
7. *The Practice of Humility.* By HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. Translated from the Italian by Rev. J. F. X. O'CONOR, S.J. New York : Benziger Brothers.
8. *The Words of Jesus Christ during His Passion.* Translated from the French of Rev. F. X. SCHOUPPE, S.J. By Rev. J. T. QUINN. New York : Benziger Brothers.
9. *A Manual for Dominican Tertiaries, being the Rule and Life of the Third Order of St. Dominic.* By Father PHILIP LIMERICK, O.P. London : Burns & Oates. 1888.
10. *Contemplation and Meditations on the Hidden Life of Our Lord.* Translated by a SISTER of MERCY. London : Burns & Oates. 1888.
11. *Manual of Prayers for Congregational Use.* With Supplement, &c. London : Burns & Oates. 1888.
12. *Spiritual Retreats, given at Roehampton.* By the Most Rev. GEORGE PORTER, S.J. New and enlarged Edition. London : Burns & Oates. 1888.
13. *Saint Anastasia, Virgin and Martyr.* Compiled from the Italian of Father BONUCCI, S.J. By MARGARET HOWITT. London : Burns & Oates.

14. *The Book of the Professed.* Vols. II. and III. Translated from the French by Miss ELLA MCMAHON. New York: Benziger Brothers.
15. *Sermons at Mass.* By Rev. PATRICK O'KEEFFE. Third Edition. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.
16. *The Seven Dolours.* By Father KENELM DIGBY BEST, of the Oratory. Third Edition. London: Burns & Oates.
17. *Blessed Ones of 1888.* Translated from the German of Rev. HERMANN KONEBERG, O.S.B. By ELIZA A. DONNELLY. New York: Benziger Brothers.
18. *The Eternal Years.* By the Hon. Mrs. A. MONTGOMERY. With an Introduction by the Most Rev. GEORGE PORTER, Archbishop of Bombay. London: Burns & Oates.
19. *The Divine Sequence: a Treatise on Creation and Redemption.* By the Hon. Mrs. A. MONTGOMERY. London: Burns & Oates.
20. *The Divine Ideal.* By the Hon. Mrs. A. MONTGOMERY. New Edition. London: Burns & Oates.
21. *The Life of St. Ignatius of Loyola.* By Father GENELLI, S.J. Translated from the French by the Rev. THOMAS MEYRICK, S.J. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1889.
22. *The Way of Interior Peace.* By Rev. Father VON LEHEN, S.J. Translated from the German by a RELIGIOUS. With Preface by His Eminence CARDINAL GIBBONS. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1889.
23. *St. Patrick, His Life, His Heroic Virtues, His Labours, and the Fruits of His Labours.* By the Very Rev. Dean KINANE, P.P., V.G. With a Preface by His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. CROKE. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1888.
24. *Eucharistic Jewels.* By PERCY FITZGERALD, M.A., F.S.A. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.
25. *Eucharistic Gems.* Compiled by the Rev. L. C. COELENBIER, O.S.F. New York: Benziger Brothers.
26. *Manual of the Confraternity of the Most Holy Cross and Passion.* By the Author of the "Manual of the Seven Dolours." Dublin: James Duffy & Co.

1. This volume of the United States translation of the complete works of St. Alphonsus makes the twelfth. It is a translation of those valuable and moving instructions for priests which the holy Doctor, before he was consecrated bishop, put together under the name of "Selva," or "A Collection of Materials." The translation is almost word for word the same as that made by "A Catholic Clergyman," and published in Dublin by John Coyne in 1844. It leaves little to be desired, and there was no need of a new one. This American reissue leaves out the long preliminary treatise on the "Obligations of Priest," taken from the Saint's writings, and also some exercises, &c., at the end of the Irish translation. On the other

hand, it is enriched by a discourse of the Saint on Mental Prayer, addressed to priests, which was discovered in 1869. No better spiritual book could be put into the hands of every priest and Church student.

2. A Prayer-book, compiled in the United States, in which the words of St. Alphonsus are exclusively made use of. It is very full, complete, and devotional, containing prayers of every kind and for every occasion.

3. A new edition of an acceptable book of devotion to our Blessed Lord; "descriptive meditations," as the Cardinal Archbishop calls them.

4. A Dominican Father here gives us a very complete "Rosary" manual, containing—Papal Briefs, historical notices, forms, meditations, &c. Many persons will be pleased to have in such a handy shape all that it is useful to know about what Pope Leo XIII. calls "the most complete expression of Christian piety."

5. Messrs. Burns and Oates' sixpenny New Testament is beautifully printed and neatly got up. As we have reason to know, it has already been widely appreciated.

6. A short catechism containing questions and answers in Catholic worship, the Sacraments, the Sacramentals, the ecclesiastical year, &c.

7. Another English translation of the Holy Father's compilation, very prettily sent out.

8. These short meditations on our Lord's words are somewhat dry and scholastic, but they are very full of matter.

9. An authoritative Manual of the Third Order of St. Dominic, with history and devotional forms. Will be welcomed by the numerous members of the Order and by devout persons in general.

10. A small volume of simple, practical, and devout meditations, according to the method of St. Ignatius; one of a series of volumes brought out by the translators. It is warmly recommended by Father Eyre, S.J.

11. Contains the Prayers of the Bishops' Manual, with hymns, devotions for Mass and the Sacraments, and other exercises; a cheap, authentic, and handy prayer-book.

12. In this edition of Archbishop Porter's three "Retreats" there have been added the notes of a fourth, given by him in 1877. Father Porter's Retreats were always quaint and pregnant in their application of Christianity to silk and satin. One "meditation" on "loving our enemies" is a good example. It seems that fine ladies have no "enemies" in any serious sense of that word. "Who are our enemies? . . . Any one is our enemy for whom we feel a coldness, a dislike, a shrinking from"—(the English is not Father Porter's). "A slow, phlegmatic person who does everything in a minute, particular manner, creeping about cautiously, may be 'the enemy' of a lively person." "Some people are tried by the voices of others which seem to shake all their nerves. I call these natural enemies. . . . Or we object to others for being short and stout, or

for being scraggy. . . . Some servants are very provoking, *tidy and particular*; they will put everything away, and we don't like that. . . . Children speak of (parents) as the 'governor' or the 'old lady,' and in this sort of way are enemies" (pp. 474-5). "Some persons keep a list of their enemies and never fail" to pray for them. These innocent obese and scraggy persons, these children of the period, must derive great edification from knowing that the superior persons whose nerves they try, have got a list of them, and are reminded to pray for them, somewhat as a certain eminent "professor" desired to be reminded, when he took his bedroom candlestick, to pray for Mr. ———, "because he had done him an injury."

13. Miss Margaret Howitt's translation of Bonucci's "Life of St. Anastasia" is enriched with a preface from her pen, which seems to prove that the work would have been more valuable if she had written the life over again herself. We have here all that is known about the patron Saint of the well-known Roman Church near the Palace of the Cæsars; indeed, probably more than is authentic, for the Acts of St. Chrysogonus, and the biography published by Metaphrastes are sources which are by no means trustworthy; and we have little else to rely upon.

14. These two little volumes are the sequel of Miss Ella McMahon's translation of a useful book on the religious life by the author of "Golden Sands." It treats of virtues and vices, prayer and perfection. The Archbishop of New York authorizes it.

15. This is a third edition of Father O'Keeffe's "Sermons at Mass." We recently noticed his excellent "Moral Discourses." This later work will be found equally instructive, equally practical, and equally effective, both for the priest and for the flock.

16. We have to note a third edition of Father Best's verses on our Lady's Dolours and other subjects connected with Most Holy Mary.

17. A prettily got up volume, containing the lives of Blessed Clement Hofbauer, Blessed Grignon de Montfort, Blessed Egidius of St. Joseph, and Blessed Josephine Mary of St. Agnes of Beniganim. Of these, the first is by far the most life-like and valuable, as the writer, Father Koneberg, O.S.B., knew and conversed with many who had known the holy Redemptionist at Warsaw or at Vienna.

18, 19, 20. New editions of the Hon. Mrs. A. Montgomery's reflections on Creation and Redemption. Of the last of the series, "Eternal Years," Archbishop Porter says that it suggests thoughts which are peculiarly suited to our age. "Turning from the present to the great past, or to the indefinite future; reading the future by the light of the past, we learn the lesson of patience; we cease to torment ourselves about the future" (*The Eternal Years*, Preface ix.).

21. Father Meyrick's translation of Père Sainte Foi's translation of Genelli's life of St. Ignatius is here reprinted. It is always valuable as showing with great fulness the details of the holy

Patriarch's character, and his clear vision of his future Society in its complete development.

22. Father von Lehen's book may be called a "Directory of Conscience," and it is a valuable book of instruction for interior souls, especially in regard to the acquisition and preservation of God's holy peace. It has passed through ten editions in Germany, and is recommended most warmly in a short preface by His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons.

23. This very acceptable "Life of the Apostle of Ireland" combines spirituality with historical detail. The author seems to rely chiefly on the Rev. W. B. Morris; but he has written with independence and research, and the many devout reflections make the work more distinctly spiritual reading than ordinary Lives of St. Patrick.

24. Mr. Percy Fitzgerald, well known in many departments of letters, has followed up his useful and successful "Jewels of the Mass" by a corresponding *cento* of passages which he calls "Eucharistic Jewels." The little collection is divided into six sections, "The Tabernacle," "The Communicant," "The Holy Eucharist a power on earth," "Spiritual Dryness," "The Eucharist figured in the New Testament," and "Prayers of the Saints and others." Each of these divisions is a connected essay, the writer not confining himself to quoting passages, but working them into a train of thought by his own observations and annotations. The various citations are from every kind of Catholic writer. Bourdaloue is frequently quoted, and the Blessed Thomas More is represented by many passages of quaint and original thought. As a book of spiritual reading, this will be acceptable, and will certainly give the ordinary Christian many new ideas on the Blessed Sacrament. Father Bridgett answers for the writer's prudence and orthodoxy.

25. A thought about the Blessed Sacrament for every day in the year. The little work is compiled from the works of the Saints and other devout writers.

26. Father Sebastian, the zealous Passionist missionary, is, we deduce from the title page, the author of this Manual. It is a thick volume of over 800 pages, and contains an ample and varied collection, from divers sources, of exercises of devotion—meditations prayers, hymns, "Offices," &c., in honour of our Lord's sufferings. For the members of the Passionist Confraternity it will be invaluable, and it will also prove a useful repertory in its special line for others. The volume bears the *imprimatur* of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin.

We have received from the *Catholic Truth Society* a *Life of Blessed Clement Hofbauer*, by Father O. R. Vassall, C.S.S.R.; an *Easy Method of Mental Prayer*, by Father Bertrand Wilberforce, O.P. (it is drawn from the works of St. Alphonsus); *Gleanings about Saint Mary Magdalen*, by Father Pius Kavanagh, O.P.—very devout and complete, but somewhat fanciful for some tastes; exact references would have given greater value to the book—and why is the great Benedictine

Abbot called "Ruban-Maur" twice, instead of Raban-Maur?; three brochures by Mgr. de Ségur, *Advice on Prayer*, *Advice on Confession*, and *Advice on Holy Communion*; a useful *Little Book of Indulgenced Prayers, Requiescat in pace*; *Short Meditations for the Month of November*, by Father R. F. Clarke, S.J.; *How to converse with God*, from the French of Père Bontauld, S.J.; and *A Way of Assisting at Holy Mass*. Nearly all these publications are one penny each, the last one named being one halfpenny.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

(Many of them too late for Notice in the present number).

"The Wandering Knight: or, a Mediaeval 'Pilgrim's Progress.'" By Jean de Carthey. London: Burns & Oates.

"The Virgin Mother according to Theology." By Rev. J. B. Petitalot. London: St. Anselm's Society.

"Charles X. et Louis XIX. en Exil." Mémoires inédits du Marquis de Villeneuve. Publiés par son arrière-petit-fils. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie.

"Marie Antoinette. Sa Vie. Sa Mort." 1755-1793. Par F. de Vyre. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie.

"La Mission de Tallyrand à Londres, en 1792." Correspondance inédite de Tallyrand avec le département des Affaires Étrangères, etc. Avec Introduction et Notes par G. Pallain. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie.

"Le Divorce de Napoléon. Par Henri Welschinger. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie.

"Short Instructions for Low Masses." By Rev. James Donohoe. New York: Fr. Pustet & Co.

"History of Confession." Translated from the French of A. Guillois by Louis de Goesbriand, D.D., Bishop of Burlington, Vt. (U.S.A). New York: Benziger Bros.

"The Dynasty of Theodosius." By Thomas Hodgkin. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

"History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century." By F. Lichtenberger. Translated and edited by W. Hastie, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

"Little Nell." A sketch by Frances Noble. London: Burns & Oates.

* * * The second portion of the Rev. J. S. Vaughan's article, "Faith and Folly," will, we hope, appear in our next number. He has not had leisure to get the matter ready for this issue, as was intended.

Record of Roman Documents.

ALLOCUTION OF POPE LEO XIII.—The Church is the guardian and mother of justice and peace—adherence to the laws of justice adduces peace—peace never more unanimously desired by the world than at present. (Feb. 11, 1889.) *Vid. Tablet*, Feb. 23, 1889.

ALTAR STONES.—A *sanatio* granted for altar stones consecrated with one relic only, if they can be distinguished and cannot easily be reconsecrated. Altar stones without any relics are to be reconsecrated. (*S. R. C.*, Jan. 16, 1886.) *Vid. Tablet*, March 9, 1889.

BURIALS NEAR AN ALTAR.—The body of a religious, who had been buried for nine years close to the lowest step of an altar, is to be removed as soon as possible to a spot distant from the altar. (*S. R. C.*, Jan. 16, 1886.) *Vid. Tablet*, March 9, 1889.

COMMUNION IN RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES.—In addition to the fixed weekly Communion days, the religious may communicate on others also with the permission of their confessor, no consent being required from the superior. The fixed number implies that all should so live as to be ready to approach at least on those days, unless some reasonable cause intervene. (*S. Cong. Ep. et Reg.*, Aug. 4, 1838.) *Vid. Tablet*, Feb. 9, 1889.

GREGORIAN MASSES.—The custom of saying thirty Masses on thirty consecutive days for the souls in Purgatory, instituted by St. Gregory the Great, and hence known by the name of the Gregorian Masses, though not indulgenced, is approved of by the Sacred Congregation when the Masses are offered up for the souls in Purgatory, not when offered up for the living by way of anticipation. No obligation rests upon the priest who, when asked, has celebrated the Masses for the living. (*S. Cong. Ind. et S. Reliq.*, Aug. 24, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, Jan. 26, 1889.

INDEX.—The following works have been placed upon the Index of prohibited books:—

Trattato di diritto internazionale di Augusto Pierantoni, professore ordinario della R. Università di Roma. Vol. I. Prolegomeni. Storia dell'antichità al 1400. Roma: Forzani e C., tipografi del Senato, 1881.

Juan Montalvo, *El Espectador*. Tomo tercero, 15 de Marzo de 1888. Paris, libreria Franco-Hispano-Americana: J. Y. Ferrer, 1888.

La question sociale—Et les partis politiques—Solutions scientifiques—Collectivisme et Progressisme, par Er. Horion, docteur en sciences, médecine, chirurgie, &c., docteur spécial en sciences chirurgicales.—*Deer. S. Off. Fer. IV. die 12 Septembris*, 1888.

L'abbé Roca, chanoine honoraire, ancien élève de l'Ecole des

hautes études des Carmes.—Le Christ, le Pape et la démocratie. Paris: Garnier frères, éditeurs, 1884.—*Decr. S. Off. Fer. IV. die 19 Septembris*, 1888.

La crise fatale et le salut de l'Europe.—Etude critique sur les missions de Saint-Ives, Paris, &c., 1885.—*Eod. Decr.*

La fin de l'ancien monde, les nouveaux cieux et la nouvelle terre. Paris, Jules Levy, libraire-éditeur. 1886.—*Eod. Decr.*

(*S. Cong. Ind.*, Dec. 14, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, Feb. 23, 1889.

ST. JOHN BAPTIST, DECOLLATION OF.—The Feast of the Decollation of St. John Baptist takes precedence of the Feast of Our Lady of Consolation. (*S. R. C.*, Sept. 13, 1885.) *Vid. Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Jan. 1889.

LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII., addressed to the Archbishop of Tours, and condemning certain journalists who, by misrepresentations and hurtful criticism, have weakened the authority of the Bishops. To examine into episcopal actions belongs to the Holy See alone. (Dec. 17, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, Jan. 5, 1889.

LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII., written at the end of the year of jubilee (1888), and encouraging all Catholics to a deeper spiritual life. (Dec. 25, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, Jan. 5, 1889, for a translation; the original text in our present number, page 406.

PROCESSIONS OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT.—The custom approved for some of the Spanish dioceses, by which the tabernacle or custodia is carried upon the shoulders of priests, or upon a vehicle drawn by lay gentlemen. (*S. R. C.*, Feb. 1, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, March 2, 1889.

REVELATIONS, Pretended, of Mathilde Marchat.—The Holy Office decrees that it is not lawful for any one to aid or abet Mathilde Marchat, in adhering to her pretended revelations or in propagating them; and that the community, established at Loigny, is to be broken up. (*S. Cong. Off.*, Dec. 15, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, Feb. 16, 1889.

ROSMINI.—Catholics are warned not to give their names to a project of erecting in Milan a monument to Antonio Rosmini, because the contemplated honour is meant to be in opposition to the recent condemnation of the forty propositions. (*S. Cong. Ind.*, Dec. 15, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, Jan. 5, 1889.

SEVEN FOUNDERS, FEAST OF THE.—By a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, this Feast has been extended to the whole Church, and the Office and Mass issued to be used on Feb. 11. (*S. R. C.*, Dec. 20, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, Feb. 9, 1889.

SPEECH OF POPE LEO XIII., addressed to the College of Cardinals, protesting against the insults offered to the Holy See and even to his own person by the enemies of the Church. He rebuts the charge that the Pope is the enemy of Italy. (Dec. 24, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, Dec. 29, 1888.

